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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

TURKEY.

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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

TURKEY;

OR

A DESCRIPTION

OF

THE POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS, CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE;

THE FINANCES, MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS;
THE STATE OF LEARNING, AND OF THE LIBERAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS;
THE MANNERS AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE TURKS AND OTHER SUBJECTS OF THE GRAND SIGNOR; &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND CIVIL, STATE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

FROM OBSERVATIONS MADE, DURING A RESIDENCE OF FIFTEEN YEARS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE TURKISH PROVINCES,

BY THOMAS THORNTON, ESQ.

VOL. II.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

"Nec festinante et vehementer occupato elegantiam orationis, quam ne meditatus quidem et otiosus præstare possem, æquum est requirere. Me quidem consolabitur nullius mendacii sibi conscius animus; quod est in hujusmodi narrationibus præcipue spectandum."

BUSBEQUII Epist. i.

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System of finance under the feudal government.

In reviewing the financial resources of the Turks, it must first of all be considered, that many of the expenses, with which the treasuries of more regular governments are burthened, are among them sufficiently provided for by the arrangements of the feudal system; and indeed, according to the spirit of its original institution, every establishment, whether calculated for internal utility or for external defence, was upheld by a competent assignment of landed property. Perhaps the chief inducement to the adoption of the feudal system, with a warlike people unskilled in

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the art of conducting the operations of finance, was, that it enabled them to support their numerous armies without levying taxes for their pay. An assignment of lands, involving the condition, that the possessor shall be constantly prepared to take the field at the call of the sovereign, is in itself a military pay; and the Turkish exchequer issued no other to its soldiery until the institution of the corps of janizaries*. In like manner, the condition of keeping in order the national establishments was imposed on the governors of the provinces to the extent of their jurisdiction, and adequate assignments of the national domain were made to them for the purpose: hence neither the army, nor the administration of justice, the police, public worship, the building nor repairing of public edifices, of fortresses, mosques, arsenals, bridges, and high roads, are kept up in the provinces at the expense of the grand signor. The establishment of the janizaries was first superinduced upon the general plan. Being

* "Hic rerum est ordo, hæc distributio—sic ut faciles inexhaustæque bello copiæ adsint, quotidianæque pro eisdem alendis pecuniæ cura levetur imperator, ut nullum ob bellum consueta ex magnificentia vel sumptibus quicquam intermittere cogatur." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir. p. 16.)

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considered as the body-guards, or standing army, of the sultan, their head quarters and fixed residence were in his capital, and they were maintained from his treasury as a part of the imperial household. The necessity of a naval force, when the conquest of Constantinople was projected*, obliged the sultan to assign a portion of his peculiar treasure for its creation and maintenance: but besides the marine forces, the janizaries and other similar bodies of regular troops, no part of the national establishments was supported from the imperial treasury.

Divisions of the Turkish exchequer.

The Turkish exchequer consists of two parts; the *miri*, which is employed in collecting and receiving the public revenues and in disbursing such sums as the public service requires, and the *hazné* or sultan's treasury. The former under the administration of the *defterdar effendi*, and the latter under that of the *hazné vekili*, a black eunuch second in official rank to the *kislar aga*. The revenues of each may be divided into fixed and casual: those of the *miri* are generally estimated at three millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, *com-*

* See Cantemir, p. 56, note 23.

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*munibus annis**. Mr. Eton has given a schedule of the revenue in greater detail, which, in result, somewhat exceeds the sum allowed by Cantemir, and which wants only the merit of accuracy†. I do not pretend to give a correct account of the Turkish finances, and I believe, that few Europeans

* I have taken this amount of the Turkish finances from Cantemir, who indeed says (p. 170, note 53), that in his time "there were brought yearly into the *two treasuries* twenty-seven thousand purses, each containing five hundred rix dollars:" but as I find that Count Marsigli, who appears to have had access to the public registers, estimates the revenues of the *miri* alone at 28,272 purses (See stato milit. t. ii, p. 179), I must suppose the apparent disagreement in their computations to be occasioned only by an inaccuracy of expression. Toderini (t. i, p. 90) says, that the revenue of the *miri*, of which the *defterdar effendi* has the direction, amounts to about twenty millions of Turkish piastres." De Tott (v. iii, p. 135) agrees with Cantemir, and fixes the revenue at 3,900,000l. sterling. Olivier says (v. i, p. 24), that the revenues of the *miri* and the sultan, which are annually paid into the treasuries of Constantinople, amount to 150 millions of livres, besides 50 millions from the revenues of mosques and from casual sources. Motraye (t. i, p. 255) calculates the total receipts of both treasuries at 36,000,000 of piastres, or 9,000,000l. sterling, according to the value of Turkish money in his time. Chalcondylas (lib. viii) estimated them, in the reign of Mahomet the Second, at four millions of gold staters, which, according to the calculation of Artus his translator (t. i, p. 172), amount to eight millions of ducats.

† "Total of the revenue of the empire, or public treasury called the *miri*, 44,942,500 piastres, or about 4,494,250l. sterling." (Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 47.)

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in Turkey possess the means of obtaining it: but as Mr. Eton declares, " that he reasons only from facts, and trusts the impartial reader will draw the same conclusions," it may perhaps not be thought superfluous to examine the merit of the facts themselves, which form the basis of his reasonings.

Mr. Eton comprehends among the sources of revenue collected by the *miri*, in the rear of a formidable list of Turkish words, *haremein hasinesi*, and *sherifein hasinesi*: but as far as can be collected from the meaning of the words themselves, they must signify the rents of *vacuf*, property consecrated to the service of public worship or charitable institutions: they are however by no means under the control of the officers of either of the departments of the exchequer; the *miri* or the *hazné*.

The founder of a mosque or other pious establishment, or the individual who enriches it by subsequent benefactions, has the privilege of appointing to the administration of his bequest an officer under the title of *mutevelly*, and a superior officer, or overseer, under that of *nazir*. These, more especially in the instance of mosques founded by the sultans, are the chief ministers of

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state, the heads of the *ulema*, or the principal officers of the seraglio; and in the case of private donations, are frequently the children or natural heirs of the testator, who enjoy, by the tacit consent of the law, such part of the rents as is not specifically appropriated, though, when this surplus is considerable, it does not escape the vigilance of government, but is adjudged to belong to the public treasury. The administrators, and chiefly those of the mosques and hospitals in Mecca, Medina, and Constantinople, are authorized, on receiving an adequate assignment of property in buildings or landed estates, to make loans to individuals, whether Mussulmans or infidels, from the public funds of the establishment which is committed to their care. The borrower still retains the use or enjoyment of his property on the payment of an inconsiderable rent, and cannot be deprived of it by his creditors in the event of his subsequently becoming a bankrupt: he may even sell or transfer it to strangers with the consent of the *mutevelly*, and on the payment of certain dues to the mosque, without being subject to the claim, which in Turkey every neighbour is allowed to make, to a preference in the sale of property contiguous

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to his own: he transmits it, on his decease, in equal portions to his immediate descendants. On the gradual, or total, extinction of such heirs, the absolute property of the several portions, or of the whole of the estate, becomes vested in the lender.

The coffer in which the revenues of the *vacufs* are collected, to the amount of several millions, is called *harémeïnn dolàby*, and is deposited in the seraglio under the care of the *kislar aga*, and strictly guarded. It is wrong to represent these treasures as "sums taken from the active and efficient capital of the nation, and either wholly unemployed, or appropriated to uses which cannot be supposed to have a very direct relation to the necessities of the state*;" for, on the contrary, without deviating from the intentions of the founders, or violating the essential clauses of their charters, that part of the revenue of *vacufs* which remains after the religious uses are satisfied, is considered as appropriable to the urgencies of the state, and might afford essential succour, if economy and fidelity were employed in administering it. In times of public distress the sultans occasionally apply these funds to the neces-

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 40, 41.

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sities of government, but under the form of a loan and the solemn engagement of the minister of finance, who, in the name of the sultan and the empire, binds the state to the payment of so sacred a debt *.

The *haratch*, or capitation tax imposed on the *rayahs*, is improperly called by Mr. Eton "the annual *redemption of the lives* of all the males above fifteen years of age, who do not profess the Mahometan religion †."

* See Tab. Gén. t. ii, chap. v, sec. 3.

The grand vizir Kioprili Mustafa Pasha first brought the treasures of the *jamis* into the public treasury: and when the *mutevelly* charged him with sacrilege, he insisted that the wealth, designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in maintaining the defenders of the holy edifices. (Cantemir, p. 367.)

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 41.—It is with much regret, that I feel myself compelled, from a respect for truth, to declare, that Dr. Wittman's account of a conversation which he held with me at Buyukdéré (See Travels, p. 28) is wholly inaccurate. A person who, like myself, had resided many years in Turkey, could never have "comprehended under the general denomination of *rayah*, the Greek and Armenian subjects of the grand signor *and every description of Franks*." Still less could I have so far adopted Mr. Eton's errors, and even have borrowed his language, as to assert, "that the *haratch* is considered as the redemption of the heads of the *rayahs*, which were forfeited in perpetuity by their subjugated ancestors." Dr. Wittman has also made me pronounce a very florid panegyric on the modern Greeks; but though I had read Mr. Eton's work while I was in Turkey, it had made so slight an impression on my memory that I must have spoken from the same inspiration as Mr. Eton himself, if I could have amused Dr. Wittman by the misrepresentations which he has attributed to me.

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The *haratch* is, however, simply a poll-tax, of the same nature as that imposed upon the English in the reign of Richard the Second: it is levied not only on the Greeks and Armenians, who were conquered by the Turks, but also on the Jews, who were protected by Turkish hospitality when they fled from the persecutions of the Christians. He inserts among the cities and places which contribute to the *haratch*, "the Morea and its five jurisdictions;" and he taxes *separately* Napoli di Romania, though a city of the Morea, and consequently within those jurisdictions. It is indeed a curious circumstance, that Mr. Eton's schedule of the Turkish finances and the memoirs of the Baron de Tott should both contain so gross a geographical error. The Turks *know*, that the peninsula of the Morea is not formed by the gulf of Napoli, but by the gulfs of Lepanto and Egina, which by almost meeting make the isthmus of Corinth. Could Mr. Eton's deference for the Baron de Tott seduce him into a belief, that "the peninsula of the Morea is formed by the gulf of Lepanto, and by that which takes its name from the city of Napoli di Romania which stands at the bottom of it*?" Dr. Pou-

* See De Tott's Memoirs, v. iv, p. 150.

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quevillé possessed means of obtaining information respecting the Morea superior to those of preceding travellers, and therefore his testimony must, at present, be admitted as conclusive. Now it appears, that the Morea, instead of containing five separate jurisdictions, is united under the jurisdiction of a *pasha* of three tails, and subdivided into twenty-four cantons, governed by *codja bashis* or elders*. Oczacow is said to have furnished ninety purses; though Oczacow was a fortress garrisoned only by Turks, who consequently were not liable to the capitation: but, what is singularly ridiculous, is, that he estimates the contributions from the body of gypsies to be almost equal to that from the city of Constantinople and its environs,

* See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. i, p. 67. The whole of Greece is divided into four great *pashaliks*; Tripolizza, Egripo or Negropont (the ancient Eubœa), Yanina, and Salonica. The *pashalik* of Tripolizza comprises all the Morea; that of Egripo, the island whence it derives its name, besides Bœotia and the eastern part of Phocis; Yanina, the whole of Epirus; and Salonica, the southern division of Macedonia. The north of Macedonia is governed by *beys*; Naupactus (or Lepanto) gives to its governor the title of *pasha*; Athens and Livadia are administered by *vaivodas*; Larissa by a *musselim*; and Zagora (the ancient Magnesia) by its own primates. Pieria is dependent on the *aga* of Katherin, who now rules over Olympus in the place of Jupiter. (See Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 24.)

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and thence I am inclined to suspect, that the schedule itself is an incorrect copy of some account composed by the Russian mission at Constantinople, by orders from the court of St. Petersburg, as it seems calculated to convey to the empress a contemptible idea of the Ottoman empire, by stating the number of male gypsies, above fifteen years of age, at three hundred and thirty-six thousand two hundred and fifty.

Confiscation and inheritances, which we have been taught to consider as the sponge by which the grand signor absorbs the wealth of his subjects, yield, under the pressure of his mighty hand, only one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven purses (about forty thousand pounds sterling), an inconsiderable drop, compared to the rivers of wealth which flow through every province of his extensive dominions.

The consequences which Mr. Eton deduces from this fanciful statement are, that "the present state of the Turkish finances is incompatible with the permanence or prosperity of the state, and that the future prospect is still less promising." "The expenditure," he says, "has so much increased that it is not probable the *miri* can discharge its debts

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without a donation from the treasury of the sultan, a measure which does not enter into the policy of the seraglio. Here then we are to consider the probable consequences of a deficiency in its treasury, to a government which knows nothing of the financial provisions of modern politics, and consequently will be totally unprepared for such a conjuncture."

To those who are unacquainted with the natural and abundant fertility of the Turkish provinces in general, it may indeed appear, that the revenues of the sultan are insufficient for the support of his armies, and the maintenance of his establishments; but when it is recollected, that the Turks are from their infancy habituated to privations which to the European soldier would be intolerable, that wine and other spirituous or fermented liquors are prohibited in their camps, that to them a moderate ration of bread or Indian corn with a few black olives is a delicious and ample repast, that most of them neither carry knapsacks nor have the least occasion for them, and that accustomed as they are to sleep in the open air enveloped in their thick *capots* or cloaks, they hardly feel the want of a tent as an inconvenience; when

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all these things are taken into consideration it must be evident, that the porte can keep in the field an army of a hundred thousand men with less expense than any prince in Christendom can maintain a third of the number. I instance only the standing army, which the Turks, in imitation of the European states, feel the necessity of augmenting, for every other establishment of magnificence or use may be still supported by the means which were originally assigned for that purpose, and which, though indeed diminished, are not inadequate to their object.

Public treasury.

Under the general control of the *defterdar effendi*, there are thirty-three offices, or chanceries, each superintended by its proper officer: in these are collected all the income, tribute, and customs of the empire; and thence the different expenditures are issued.

Sources of revenue; land-tax.

The chief sources of revenue are—The *miri*, or territorial impost levied on the whole empire, which is one tenth of the produce of lands. The whole of this tax, though registered in the books of the office, and calculated at about twenty millions sterling, is not paid into the imperial treasury: the greater part is detained in the provinces, and regularly accounted for among the expenses

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of administration, and keeping up the national establishments. The *çazy-asker* of Romelia takes cognizance of whatever concerns the exchequer: the *miri kiatibi*, one of his deputies, holds his court in the office of the *defterdar effendi*, and judges definitively all fiscal suits*.

property-tax, *Rayahs*, or persons subject to the payment of the *haratch*, pay also a tax on moveables: it is levied on their personal property and the produce of their industry; on hearths or houses, farms, warehouses, and shops: it appears to be unequally and arbitrarily imposed, and is estimated, by those who pay it, at a quarter of the clear produce of their gains. Women are exempt from payment of the *haratch*, but their property, consisting either of lands or merchandize, is, equally with that of the men, subject to the payment of both the other taxes†.

customs, The customs on the importation and exportation of merchandize form another prin-

* See Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 46. Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 307, note 52. Olivier says (v. i, p. 190), that the quit rent paid by the Mussulman subjects amounts to one seventh of the produce of their lands, and that paid by the *rayahs* to one fifth.

† See Pouqueville, Voyages en Morée, &c. t. i, p. 232.

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cipal branch of revenue. They are chiefly farmed, and are collected throughout the empire with mildness and moderation. "These legal imposts," Mr. Eton says, "are but a small part of what the merchant pays. Foreigners indeed," continues he, "are, in all countries, more liable to imposition than the natives*." But from this general accusation he should have excepted Turkey, as there the Frank merchant pays only three per cent. on the value of his importations, and has the privilege, if grieved by an over estimation, of paying in kind. The natives, or at least the *rayahs* are taxed five per cent., and are sometimes further aggrieved by an unfair evaluation†.

The *haratch*, or capitation tax on *rayahs*, poll-tax, is felt as a grievance only from the mode of collecting it, which subjects the passenger

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 56.

† "Rara per imperium vectigalia, exiguaque portoria, hæc defraudantibus, geminandum est tantum vectigal debitum." (Montalban: ap. Elzevir. p. 41.)

"Tous les négocians Européens établis à Constantinople et dans les principales échelles du Levant, paient des droits beaucoup plus modiques que les nationaux eux-mêmes." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 211.) See also on the subject of the custom-duties, Chardin's Travels, p. 72, and Peyssonnel in refutation of De Tott (Appendix, p. 209).

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in the public streets to the repeated and insolent examination of his certificate by the tax-gatherers. The male Christian and Jew subjects pay the *haratch* from the age of twelve years to their death. The heaviest contribution does not exceed thirteen piastres a year, the lightest is four piastres, and they are rated according to the rank in life and circumstances of the subject. The sum levied on individuals in consequence of this exaction has varied at different periods, and the age at which persons become liable to the payment of it is, even at this time, so undetermined that, in the provinces, the male children born in the cities are not rated until they are eight years old, while those in the villages are subject to the impost from the age of five years. Cantemir says, that it is enjoined by the law of the *koran*, that every male shall pay yearly thirteen drachms of pure silver when he becomes of a ripe age, and chooses to remain a subject of the empire without being obliged to profess the Mahometan religion. Under the first Turkish emperors of Constantinople this sum was increased to three rix dollars, and was augmented or diminished at pleasure under their successors, until the grand vizir Kioprili Mus-

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Jafa Pasha established three proportionate rates of payment, and ordered, that *rayahs* of the first class should pay annually ten piastres, those of middling fortunes six, and the poorer sort three piastres, and this regulation was generally observed. Motraye travelled in the Morea after it had been ceded to the Venetians by the treaty of Carlovitz, and heard the Greeks, as Sandys predicted that they would, regret the dominion of their former masters. "When we obeyed the Turks," said they, "we enjoyed all possible liberty on paying the moderate contribution of three or four crowns, which to the most opulent among us was never increased above ten. No greater burthens were imposed upon us either in peace or war, and on these terms we were indulged in the free exercise of our religion, and the practice of our respective professions*."

* "A l'égard de leurs femmes et de leurs filles, quelque riches qu'elles soient, elles en sont toujours exemptes, et leurs garçons ne le payent que lorsqu'ils sont censés en état de gagner leur vie." (See Voyages de M. de la Motraye, t. i, p. 284, 319.)

"Quand le père d'un petit Grec veut chicaner, les percepteurs mesurent la tête de l'enfant avec une corde qui leur sert de toise; et comme ils peuvent raccourcir la corde à volonté, le pauvre Grec a toujours tort. Ces percepteurs sont des vieillards

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If the total produce of this tax could be accurately ascertained, it would still form but an unsteady basis, on which to found our calculations as to the number of the tributary subjects of the Turkish empire: for with respect to many districts, the contributions which are levied upon the *rayahs* and paid into the sultan's exchequer are invariably the same, whatever be the state of population, and are at this day equal in amount to what they were when they were first established on the conquest of the country. The price of each certificate consequently varies in proportion to the number of the tributary inhabitants of a district: accordingly we

qui ont l'œil si exercé, qu'ils lisent la condition d'un homme sur sa physionomie. Jamais un seul raya ne leur échappe; mais ils ne demandent jamais deux fois le haratch au même individu.—Le taux du haratch varie suivant la richesse: (*à Salonique*) 1600 individus paient 11 piastres; 2500, 6 piastres; et 2000, 2 piastres ½." (Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 51.)

"If a Christian or a Jew asks the *mufti* by a *fetwa*, how much tribute he is to pay yearly? he will be told, that according to the law of the *koran*, he is to pay but thirteen drachms of pure silver. But if, relying upon this, he refuses to comply with the other impositions laid upon him, he will immediately be seized, and the same *mufti* will justify by a *fetwa* the punishment which will be inflicted on him for his disobedience to the sultan's commands." (Cantemir, p. 366, note 19.)

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find, on comparing the rate of the *haratch* in the island of Cyprus with that in the most fertile parts of Thessaly (which two places exhibit the extremes of population in Turkey), that while individuals in Cyprus are taxed twelve piastres, the *rayahs* of Thessaly pay only two piastres and a half per head. This, however, is not the case in the capital: the *rayahs* there have been denominated free and happy, when their condition has been compared with that of the tributary subjects who are placed at a greater distance from the centre of this vast monarchy. The payment of the legal taxes is indeed enforced with no less rigour than in the remotest provinces, but the more immediate presence of the sovereign protects the *rayahs* from extortions practised in the name, and under the authority, of government. The amount of the capitation tax is therefore levied on the inhabitants of the metropolis in its due and legal proportions, and being carried to account in the public registers conformably with the certificates issued, must represent with tolerable precision the state of the *rayah* population within the circuit or jurisdiction of the capital; and if it do not enable us to ascertain the number of the inhabitants, may at

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least assist us in forming a judgment on the accuracy of results from other calculations. Now it has been asserted in a late publication, that the total population of the city of Constantinople does not amount to three hundred thousand souls, and this conclusion is said to be drawn from calculations founded on the annual consumption of corn and cattle, the number of deaths within the city, and the extent of ground which it occupies. But the same author asserts, that he has ascertained the receipts of the *haratch* in Constantinople and its environs to be two thousand nine hundred and sixteen purses, or about a million and a half of piastres; therefore, on taking six piastres as the medium contribution, and one *rayah* in four as subject to this tax, we shall find, that the number of tributary inhabitants alone, which is confessedly inferior to that of the Mahometans, amounts nearly to a million of souls. Again if we compare the result of the receipts of the *haratch* for Romelia and Anatolia with the total population of the empire, according to the statements of both as given by the same author, we shall be scarcely less astonished at the difference. The total of the revenues arising from the *haratch* is as-

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serted to be about twenty millions of piastres, which, according to the proportion before established, should correspond with a population of between thirteen and fourteen millions: but what a vast disagreement between this conclusion, which respects the *rayahs* alone, and the total population of the Ottoman empire, as estimated by the same author! "If we take it for granted," he says, "that there were fifty millions of people on the continent two centuries ago" (which indeed must be considered as the maximum of the population of Turkey when in its most flourishing state), "that the births are to the burials as twelve to ten, or that one in thirty-six die every year in the common course of mortality, or that the number of births to the living are as one to twenty-six, twenty-seven, or twenty-eight, or any calculation more favourable to the increase of population, we shall still find the mortality occasioned by the plague, taken on an average, would reduce these fifty millions to little more than ten at this day*." But the pro-

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 41, 45, 272, 279, 280, 283.

I find, in Rigaud's généalogie du grand Turc, &c. p. 46, the following notice of the *rayah* population in the Turkish empire

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gress of depopulation, in countries so productive and so favourably situated as are those which compose the Ottoman empire, is infinitely over-rated in this calculation. The errors of government, to which even the existence of the plague is to be attributed, are combated and extenuated by the vigorous fecundity of nature: under the most faulty and depraved system of administration, a genial climate and a luxuriant soil animate the human race to bear up against tyranny and oppression; and in spite of all the excesses of arbitrary power, the intolerance of fanaticism, and the madness of superstition, the bounties of nature, diffused over the smiling vallies of Europe and of Asia, continue to encourage industry, to alleviate toil, and to charm, almost into the forgetfulness of misery, an inexhaustible succession of native inhabitants.

monopoly, The public treasury is also augmented by the produce of monopolies, as in the instance

in the fifteenth century. "On fit le compte au temps du Sulthan Baiazie, on trouuoit qu'il auoit sous son empire vn million cent et dix mille Chrestiens, payans tribut, sans les autres Chrestiens qui sont ses vassaulx, qui sont affranchis par priuilege, sans les enfans des Chrestiens, qui sont petits et ne sont point encores en aage de payer tribut."

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of bread-corn, which the grand signor receives from the provinces, at a very low rate, and sells out in retail to the bakers, at such prices as he thinks proper to fix.

The general evils of vicious administration are augmented by the limitations which are imposed by government, not only on the exportation of native produce necessary for the support of life, but on its free circulation through the different parts of the Turkish empire: and no regulation is more injudicious than the arbitrary fixation of the price and other conditions of sale between the dealer and the purchaser. The corn-trade at Constantinople is under the inspection of the *istambol effendi*, a magistrate of the order of *ulema*, to whom are confided the ordinary government and civil jurisdiction of the metropolis: his *naïb* presides in the office called *un capan*, which is situated on the shore of the harbour between the Seraglio point and the *Fanal*. All ships loaded with grain, whether from the Black Sea or the Archipelago, discharge their cargoes at this wharf. The *naïb* keeps a register of the quantity delivered, and after fixing the price to the merchant, distributes the corn to the bakers in such quantities and on such terms as he judges

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proper. Private monopolies are not tolerated; and indeed the primary motive of government in subjecting the corn trade to such pernicious regulations, was to prevent the evils arising from forestalling the necessary articles of human subsistence. No individual is therefore permitted to lay up corn in his magazines in order to resell it with greater profit, and there are not even any granaries or warehouses in Constantinople properly constructed for such speculations*. Among the many inconveniences of this system may be reckoned, the long detention of merchant vessels to the great detriment of their cargoes, the violent measures which are occasionally employed to compel the bakers to receive a larger quantity of corn than the sheds, which serve them instead of warehouses, are fitted to preserve from in-

* "Les Turcs sont aussi extrêmement circonspects sur la vente des bleds. Il est défendu sur peine de la vie d'en transporter hors du pays, n'y même d'en vendre dans les maisons particulières, et pour empêcher que cela ne puisse arriver on met des gardes dans le marché publié, qui n'en laissent point emporter à moins qu'on n'ait un billet du *naïb* ou lieutenant de police, qui ne permet jamais un achat de plus de quatre muids à la fois; et si un paysan étoit convaincu d'avoir vendu son bled à un Chrétien, il n'en seroit pas quitte pour cinq cens coups de bâton." (Dumont, Nouveau voyage au Levant, p. 165. A la Haye, 1694.)

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jury, and the inevitable consequence of unwholesome bread being sometimes distributed to the public; not to mention the losses sustained, in the frequent fires which desolate the capital of the empire, from the destruction of great quantities of corn thus exposed in wooden buildings. Since the treaty of Kainargik, which opened the Black Sea to the commerce of foreign nations, vessels which have taken in cargoes from the Russian ports, or have loaded the produce of Hungary brought down the Danube, are allowed the free passage of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, in order to convey their merchandize to the sea-ports of the Mediterranean, if it be not found advantageous to dispose of the cargoes to the *miri* at Constantinople. This privilege of treating with the *miri*, instead of being forced to submit to terms calculated only with a view to the convenience or benefit of government, is so important that I have known ships, which had surreptitiously loaded wheat, the produce of the Turkish provinces, sail to the Russian port of Odessa, and subject themselves to the delays and expenses of performing quarantine, paying the harbour fees and custom-house duties, for no other pur-

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pose than to obtain a certificate of their cargo being the produce of Russia, and thereby rescuing it from the vexations and extortions of the officers of the Turkish *miri*.

The provinces which are the most fertile in grain, such as Volo, Salonica, Rhodosto, Cara Aghatz, Varna, &c. are obliged to furnish to the officers of the grand signor a quantity of wheat, equal to about the twelfth part of the produce of their harvests. This contribution is called *istira*: the officers commissioned to collect the emperor's dues (who are usually the *capigi bashis*, or chamberlains of his court) are called *istiragi*, or *mubaïagi* which signifies a purchaser on public account. The *istiragi*, on receiving the corn from the proprietor, pays him at the rate of twenty *paras* for every *killo* (a measure containing about sixty pounds weight). The total quantity of corn thus purchased for the supply of the capital amounts to about a million of *killoes* annually. It is sent by sea to Constantinople, and lodged in public granaries situated on the north side of the harbour near the arsenal. As this stock is considered to be a resource against times of scarcity, it is not distributed till it begins to be damaged, unless when it

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can be sold with considerable benefit. Indeed, as the ordinary price of wheat is three or four piastres the *killo*, the advantage to government, after making ample allowance for the freight and charges, cannot, under any circumstances, be estimated at less than two or three millions of piastres*. The *istiragi* also derives considerable profit from his office: for though he is reimbursed by government only according to the same rate which he pays for the corn, so that he does not benefit by the price, he gains considerably by the measure, which is always heaped up when he receives the corn, and scanty when he delivers it into the sultan's granaries. He is besides authorized to receive, for his own account, and at the same rate as government, a quantity of wheat equal to the tenth part of the public *istira;* this he immediately resells at two piastres the *killo*, and consequently obtains a clear profit of three hundred per cent. These may be considered as the legal profits of his office; but, besides extorting money from the proprietors by harassing them with arbitrary exactions,

* Olivier (v. i, p. 233) estimates the produce of this monopoly at ten thousand purses, or five millions of piastres.

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and forcing them to carry the amount of their contribution to the seaport at their own cost, the *istiragi*, in contempt of the duties of his office, generally sells a tenth or a fifteenth part of the public corn, for which he substitutes an equal quantity of barley, rye, or even chaff; and he frequently deteriorates the remaining corn by swelling it with sea water, or the vapour of boiling vinegar, in order to conceal his fraud. These and similar malversations are generally connived at by the superintending magistrates of the department; and they must be carried to a glaring excess indeed, before they bring down any punishment on the offender.

Though punishment may remove a faithless steward, it by no means insures the fidelity of his successor; the excess of peculation is even resorted to as a precedent; the same nefarious practices are continued, and hence, as is generally observed in Constantinople, the corn served out by government is inferior in its quality and condition to that purchased from private merchants*.

The Turks, in imposing on the provinces

* See Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 220. Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 111.

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a contribution of corn for the supply of the capital, did but adopt a custom which had received the sanction of both the Eastern and Western emperors. Africa poured out her rich harvests as an homage to her conquerors, and Constantine imposed on the industrious husbandmen of Egypt an annual tribute of corn, which served only to nourish a spirit of faction and licentiousness in the indolent populace of his new capital*.

The imposition of the *istira* is not in all cases to be considered as a peculiar hardship on the provinces liable to this contribution. The territory in Macedonia ceded by Murad the Second to his general Gazi Ghavrinos, was freed from every other tax or contribution, except that of the *istira*, and is transmitted to the descendants of this illustrious family with the same franchises. The Ghavrinos have so well supported the reputation of their great ancestor that, to this day, one of their family is commonly appointed *istiragi* of the district of Salonica, which comprises the territory situated chiefly between the Vardar and the Strymon.

I have instanced only the contribution of bread-corn; but the Turkish government

* See Gibbon, v. iii, p. 27.

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purchases *in like manner*, from several of the provinces, other necessary articles of consumption. In the spring of every year a company of purchasers, composed of Turks and Greeks, arrive in the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, with *firmans* from the porte, and buy up, in the most vexatious and oppressive manner, five or six hundred thousand sheep, for the use of the corps of janizaries and the households of the sultan and his principal officers; others, under the name of *capanli*, authorized by letters of the grand vizir, purchase butter, cheese, wax, tallow, and smoked provisions, at their own price. In these two provinces, the fat of upwards of eighty thousand oxen, sheep and goats is melted down every year, to supply the capital with tallow. The wretched inhabitants are also forbidden to export their corn from any other ports than Galatz and Ibraïl on the Danube, where the Turkish merchants (chiefly the Lazes of Trebizond, a race of men infamous for their cruelty and injustice) make their purchases with less regard to honesty and good faith than even the agents of government*.

* See Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia. Napoli, 1788. p. 120—123.

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The produce of mines is carried to the public treasury, or partially assigned, as in the instance of the copper mines of Diarbekir, to the use of the imperial establishments, the arsenals and founderies, at Constantinople. It is certain, that several of the chains of mountains, which bound or intersect the Turkish provinces, contain mines, not only of the useful, but of the precious, metals. The torrents which fall from the Transilvanian Alps, or Carpathian mountains, are impregnated with particles of different metals: the *chinganehs*, a race of gypsies who are very numerous in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, collect, from the beds of the rivers, pellets of gold mixed with a small quantity of silver, by means of which they are enabled to pay into the prince's treasury the annual tribute of a drachm of gold imposed on each man. The ignorance of the people in the art of working mines with economy is perhaps one cause of the neglect with which the Ottomans appear to treat this source of wealth; but the chief obstacle to exploration is the rapacity of government, which would seize upon the advantages of any new discovery, and subject the provincialists to the unrecompensed

mines.

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labour of opening the mines, and extracting the ore*.

escheats and forfeitures,

It has already been observed, that the patronage of the whole empire annually reverts to the crown, and that all posts of dignity or emolument are conferred anew at the festival of *baïram*, according to purchase or favour: the advantages arising from this immense sale of offices cannot however be considered as a revenue to the state, since both the purchase-money and the fees on new appointments are distributed without passing through the public treasury†. In

* De Tott (v. ii, p. 104) imputes to this cause the neglect of the gold mines of *Tchâdir dâgh* in the Crimea, which at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of the porte.

" In molti siti *(dei Monte Carpazzi)* vi sono tutti gl'indizi di minerali; molte acque sono impregnate di particelli di diversi metalli; in tutti i fiumi si trovano pagliette d'oro mescolato con un poco d'argento, che sono raccolte dai *zingari*, essendo obbligato ogni uomo di costoro di portarne una dramma l'anno al tesoro del principe. Ultimamente nell'angolo della Moldavia che ora appartiene all' Imperatore" (cioè la Buccovina ceduta dalla Porta Ottomana alla casa d'Austria l'anno 1776) " si sono poste in valore delle miniere di ferro." (Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia, p. 109.)

For an account of the gold mines at Crenidæ in Macedonia, see Diodor. l. xvi, c. 9. Justin, l. viii, c. 3, or Gillies's History of ancient Greece, v. iv, p. 34.

† De Tott says (v. i, p. 83), that the grand signor stipu-

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like manner, the profits arising from the escheats and forfeitures of the lands held by the *zaïms* and *timariots* are but indirectly advantageous to government, for though they relieve the state in some degree from the expense of paying its officers, they cannot be considered as a branch of revenue*. Confiscations, however, belong of right to the *miri*, or public treasury, as, with the exception of the janizaries and the *ulema*, every Mussulman subject, exercising an employ-

lated, that his share of the profits, arising from the appointment of Bishop Calinico to the patriarchate of Constantinople, should be paid to himself in new sequins, and that he afterwards divided them with his niece. But some better authority than De Tott's seems requisite for giving credit to the secret history of the seraglio.

* Dr. Dallaway (p. 87) says, that "the officers of state have neither salary nor pension."—Mr. Eton (Schedule, No. 2) even subjects the vizir and other ministers to the annual payment of 1800 *purses* for their offices. Cantemir (p. 147) asserts, from his own knowledge, that the *defterdar effendi* receives 200,000 imperials, and pays 50,000 to the officer of his department immediately under him, *kietchuda bey*. But the grand vizir, he says, may justly get every year six hundred thousand imperials, exclusively of presents. Rycaut (p. 57) instances a *reïs effendi*, who was executed for some conspiracy against the grand vizir, and left so great a treasure arising from the emoluments of his office (all of which was confiscated to the grand signor) that it would have been sufficient to enrich and raise his prince, had he been impoverished, and in a declining condition. —See also Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 539.

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ment of what nature soever under government, virtually stipulates, that the sovereign shall inherit the whole of his property at his death. The *ulema* may bequeath their property to their natural descendants. The company in which a janizary is enrolled inherits his effects. The coffer of each company is placed under the protection of the captain, lieutenant, commissary, and ensign; the monies thus collected are considered as a public fund, and are employed for the relief of the sick and aged, the ransom of captives, the purchase of tents, harness, and such implements as the service requires.

This law of confiscation, which is so repugnant to the usages of other nations that it appears more like the outrage of tyranny than the calm proceeding of regular government, is not, however, different from those which prevailed in Europe when fiefs were not hereditary*. In Turkey no one questions the justice of it. Those who accept of office tacitly acknowledge the right of the sovereign to dispose of their places, their property, and their lives. The greatest part of

* See Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. xciii, t. xvii, p. 451.

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of the wealth of the nation must consequently pass through the coffers of government in the course of a single generation; and though the receipts of each year taken separately may vary considerably, yet the amount of a certain number of years must be uniform, and may be calculated with tolerable precision in estimating the revenues of the Turkish exchequer*.

In all cases, whether of confiscation or inheritance, the property of the wife or the widow is considered as belonging to her exclusively, and is not transferred to the public use. A Mussulman, holding no administrative nor military appointment under government, is allowed to dispose of his possessions by will: if he has children or relations he is compelled by the law to leave two thirds of his property to them; but if he has no heirs,

* Marsigli (whose account of the revenues of the Ottoman empire, t. i, p. 52, 55, is very confused and inaccurate) says, that the wealth of *pashas*, on their decease or deposition, passes into the coffer destined to supply the private wants of the sultan, which is under the care of the *haznadar bashi*, or sultan's private treasurer, a black eunuch of the seraglio. I have ventured to contradict him from my own experience, as I have observed in many instances, that property lapsing to government by confiscation or inheritance is always seized upon in the name of the *miri*.

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he may then dispose, to whom and in such manner as he pleases, of the whole of his personal property, and of such part of his real property, as is termed *mulk*, or free, in opposition to *vacuf*, or that which is mortgaged to religious uses. On the death of any person, who has left no will and whose legitimate heirs are unknown, the *miri* interferes, and holds the unclaimed property in behalf of the absent or unknown proprietors. There is, however, a want of precision, if not in the letter of the law, at least in the usual course of proceeding, especially in the concerns of the *rayahs;* for I have known the property of Armenian subjects forcibly taken from them during their lifetime, and disposed of to other persons, or seized upon at their death to the exclusion of the widow and orphans*.

* The instances to which I more particularly allude, are those of a rich Armenian banker of the name of Sakka Oglu, whose widow was stripped of all her husband's property because he had left no children. Another Armenian banker named Rafaël Murat, with whom I was acquainted, lost his house in the fire at Pera in 1799. An Italian physician of the name of Ruini, knowing, that Murat, because of great losses which he had sustained, could not immediately rebuild his house, asked a grant of the ground from Tchelebi Effendi, whose family he attended, and built a house upon it for himself, in contempt of common honesty, and in spite of the reclamations of the injured *rayah*.

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The mint is under the direction of the *zarp-hana eimini*, who farms the bullion at the rate of delivering a certain number of *purses* daily into the treasury: it is consequently a profit to the state. The alteration and debasement of the coin were long since resorted to as a branch of revenue by the Ottoman sultans. I learned from a Polish merchant at Lemberg in Galicia, that the Turkish coin which he received from Moldavia as a remittance in the year 1797, contained only fifteen thirty-second parts of pure silver; and it has been since further adulterated every year*. coinage.

* Dr. Wittman (Travels, p. 37, 367) says, that the silver coin of Constantinople contains thirty hundredth parts of pure silver, and that of Cairo only twenty-five.—At the time when Theodorus Spanduginus wrote his account of Turkey (soon after the year 1500), 8 pieces of the copper coin called *mangur* were equal in value to a silver *asper*: 4 *aspers* to 1 *drachm*: 9 *drachms* or 36 *aspers* to a German thaler: the *sultania* (a gold coin containing 45 *aspers*) was equal in weight and in fineness to the Venetian sequin.—When Leunclavius wrote his Pandects, the prices of things, he says, had increased so much, in consequence of the burthens of the Persian war and other causes, that after the lapse of forty or fifty years, 1 *asper* was exchanged for 24 *mangurs*; 5 *aspers* made 1 *drachm*; 12 *drachms* a German thaler; one thaler and an half, a Venetian sequin or 90 *aspers*. So that 1 *drachm* of 5 *aspers* was equal to 6 kreutzers; 10 *drachms* or 50 *aspers* to 1 florin; 12 *drachms* or 60 *aspers* to 1 thaler; and very soon after the thaler rose even to 80 *aspers*.

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The Ottoman government is not sufficiently enlightened to perceive the inconvenience and injury which commerce sustains by such continual fluctuation in the value of the common standard. When the vizir Kioprili held the reins of government, he was advised by certain Christians to coin *mangurs* of an inferior intrinsic value to those at that time in currency, and to give them a higher value in circulation, ordering, that two *mangurs* should be received for an *asper*. By these means he relieved the state from its temporary embarrassments, but introduced

(See Leunclavius's treatise "de variis monetis" in Elzevir's collection, p. 178. See also another, and different, estimation of the Turkish coins, in p. 228, by Lazarus Soranzus.)—Marsigli (in his chapter delle monete d'oro, d'argento, e di rame, che si battono d'entro l'impèro Ottomanno, t. i, p. 45) says, that *mangurs* and *ghediks* are the only copper money in use: the silver coin consists of *aspers*, *paras*, *beshliks*, *onliks*, and *solottas* (or piastres): the *sherifs* (or ducats) are of gold. The following table will show their relative value: 4 *mangurs* make 1 *asper*, 3 *aspers* 1 *para*, (*beshlik* expresses five, and *onlik* ten *aspers*) 80 *aspers* 1 *solotta*, 270 *aspers* an Hungarian ducat.—The money at present in use in the Turkish empire is divided into *paras*, and *gurush* (or piastres) which consist of forty *paras*. The coin bears no other impression than that of the titles of the reigning sultan, the date of the year of the Hegira, and the name of the city where it was struck. According to the present rates fifteen piastres per pound sterling may be considered as the par of exchange.

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at the same time so much confusion among the dealings of the people that the populace and military of Constantinople were forced into insurrection*. The treasury derived a further profit from establishing two different rates for receiving, and issuing, payments. In the payment of tribute from the provinces the rix dollar was passed only at eighty *aspers*, but was reckoned at a hundred and twenty *aspers* in all disbursements of the public money. The profit to the state was, however, momentary and illusory; but ministers amassed wealth, and the subjects were ruined.

The tribute paid by the princes, or *vaivodas*, of Wallachia and Moldavia may be considered as a substitute for the territorial impost, the *haratch* and all other taxes: it is annually paid into the *miri* or public treasury. The tribute is, however, but a small part of the contributions exacted from both principalities. The yearly purchase of the confirmation of the princes authority, the presents at *baïram* to the sultan and the officers of the porte, and the expenses of maintaining agents to counteract the schemes tribute.

* "Me presente," says Marsigli, from whose work (t. i, p. 46) I have extracted the passage.

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of their rivals, and maintain their influence with the ministry and the courtiers, absorb the greatest part of the revenues*. The tribute originally stipulated to be paid by the principality of Moldavia, which voluntarily submitted itself to the sultans, was four thousand crowns; but the great disparity between the contracting parties, and the want of a guarantee to the treaty, consequently left the Moldavians at the mercy of a master. The tribute in the year 1770 was only sixty-five thousand piastres, while the presents which accompanied it exceeded half a million. Wallachia was reduced by the arms of the Ottomans: its subjection is not, however, more galling than that of Moldavia: the tribute in the year 1782 amounted to three hundred thousand piastres, and together with the indirect expenses and the charges of administration, bore nearly the same proportion to the total expenditure of the principality, as those of Moldavia†. The little republic of Ragusa, a

* "Vallachorum, Moldarumque principes—tributa pendunt, pecuniaque comparatas dignitates pecunia tueri coguntur, unde maximis semper conflictantur curis, ne artibus iisdem a se feliciter in antecessores expertis, a provincia extrudantur, et nova onera subire vel ob calumnias perire compellantur." Montalban. ap. Elzevir. p. 21.)

† See Cantemir, p. 186, 187, 188. Prince Cantemir go-

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town in Dalmatia, anciently called Epidaurus, foresaw the greatness of the Ottoman power while yet in its infancy, and sent ambassadors to Sultan Orkhan desiring to become his tributaries, and to receive his powerful protection. It has flourished for centuries under the protection of the porte: for the treaty has been religiously observed by the Turks. It pays an annual tribute of twelve thousand five hundred sequins in token of submission, which has never been augmented, nor have the privileges and immunities granted them, been infringed*.

An important branch of revenue, which it

verned Moldavia, and therefore must have written this part of his history with a perfect knowledge of the subject: he feelingly says, "that though at present there are paid into the imperial treasury sixty thousand crowns by way of tribute, and twenty-four thousand as an Easter offering, many more are exacted by these insatiable blood-suckers. For as there is no law against avarice, so there is no end of the Turkish demands and extortions. All depends on the will of the prime vizir, and to make any remonstrance against his pleasure is deemed capital."—See also Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia, p. 185, 199.—Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman empire, chap. xiv.—Marsigli (t. i, p. 55) says, that the tributes of Wallachia and Moldavia are not mentioned in the *canon nameh*, because they are chiefly designed as perquisites of office to the vizir. He estimates the part which is paid into the treasury at 820 purses.

* Rycaut, p. 65.

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is however difficult to calculate with precision, is a tax upon certain provinces which is levied in kind. The object of it, so far as regards the public, is to provide materials for keeping up the navy; besides furnishing stores and provisions necessary for the service of the sultan's household. The benefit which the treasury derives from this source has been estimated at two thousand *purses*; but when it is considered, that almost all the materials necessary for the arsenal are procured by contributions of this nature from the provinces, and that the dock-yards and store-rooms are so abundantly provided as to excite the admiration of strangers, it is evident, that the means of keeping on foot a navy, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and as many frigates, are by no means overrated by Marsigli at a million of piastres*.

* The district called Kogia, situated on the gulf of Ismit in the Propontis, sends 21,000 pieces of timber. Smyrna, Salonica, and the Asiatic provinces on the Black Sea, 12,050 kintals of hemp (each kintal weighing 120 pounds). Cairo 1000 kintals of tow, 100 jars of lintseed oil, 2000 pieces of sail-cloth, and 40 kintals of sewing twine. Athens 1500 ells of sail-cloth. Samakoff (on the Black Sea) 1395 kintals of bar iron. Salonica 2000 ells of woollen cloth (which was formerly used in making awnings for the gallies). Karaboghaz, Boli, and Isnic, 2430 oars for the gallies, and 5200 kintals of boxwood. Sultania and Osar

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The treasure thus collected, over which the *defterdar effendi* presides, is called *beïth-ul-mali muslimin*, or the public money of the Mussulmans, no part of which the emperor himself can expend without the most urgent necessity, or apply to his own private use without danger*. The law is so strict in this respect that it is not even permitted to the sultan to appropriate to pious uses any part of the money consecrated to the neces- Expenditure of the public treasure.

500 Kintals of tar, &c. (See Marsigli, t. i, p. 52, 56, 150; t. ii, p. 179.)

" Je parcourus successivement la salle des coupes, située dans le jour le plus favorable pour les desseins en grand qu'on y exécute; je pus me convaincre de l'état des chantiers qui étoient parfaitement approvisionnés, aussi bien que les magazins de la marine. On s'étonne comment la Porte, sans plan de finances, avec des revenus que les révoltes des pachas rendent incertains, fait face à ses dépenses, sans former d'emprunt." (Pouqueville, Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 210.)

* It has been asked, in what manner this separation is kept up, and how a prince so absolute as the grand signor is prevented from viewing the whole treasure as *hazné?* The answer is obvious; for as the sums issued from the *miri* are for the pay of the soldiery and the public and present occasions of the empire (see Rycaut, chap. ix), the sultan dares not misapply them; or when he does so, the people always murmur, and sometimes openly rebel. (See Cantemir, p. 170, note 53.) Mignot (Hist. Ottom. t. ii, p. 396) relates, that Mustafa the First was accused of having dissipated the public treasures, and was deposed after a reign of three months. " La crainte d'être déposé est un plus grand frein pour les empereurs turcs que toutes les lois de l'alcoran." (Voltaire, t. xvii, p. 453.)

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sities of the state. It is for this reason, that the imperial mosques are founded chiefly by sultans who have obtained victories and made conquests, and who are therefore presumed to devote the spoils of war, gained from the enemies of their religion, to the service of public worship, the instruction of youth, and the relief of the poor. This is invariably the case with respect to all the imperial mosques built within the walls of Constantinople. The sultans, who, not having merited the surname of *gazi*, or conquerour, are yet desirous of perpetuating their memory by founding a mosque from the savings of their household expenses, usually build it in Scutari on the opposite coast of Asia, or in some other city in the neighbourhood of the imperial residence.

The disbursements of the *miri* chiefly relate to the military stipends of the *capiculy* and their dependencies, the salaries and maintenance of the officers and workmen of the arsenal, and the purchase of such materials or stores as are necessary for the building, repairing, or equipment of vessels, which the country does not furnish, nor the skill of the inhabitants enable them to manufacture. The *tershana eimini*, or steward of the

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arsenal, has the care of providing all necessaries for the navy, and superintends the receipts and expenditures, as the *tophana nazeri* regulates all the expenses of the ordinance. The *miri* also provides for the fortifying or keeping in repair the walls and buildings necessary for the defence of the capital, besides a variety of current expenses*.

* Mr. Griffiths has copied "from the estimable labours of his friend Mr. Eton" thirteen quarto pages on the subject of the Turkish finances. Such undistinguishing commendation, as it gives no additional importance to those labours, does not deter me from observing, that his schedule of the annual expenditure is equally liable to objection with that of the revenues. "The expenditure of the *miri*," he says (p. 40), "embraces a variety of objects, *viz.* the expenses of the army and navy, in war as well as peace; the pay of all officers, civil and military; the erecting and repairing of fortifications, of public edifices, high roads, bridges, &c. together with a great part of the expenses of the sultan's household, and several other extraordinary disbursements." I avoid as superfluous the pointing out with how many restrictions each of these assertions is to be received; and I shall only observe, that, in the more detailed account of the annual expenditure of the *miri* (p. 48), there appears to me the insertion of a wilful error: —the pay of the garrison at Viddin is put down at 1250 *purses*, that of all the other fortresses in the Ottoman empire 18,000, besides the pay of those who guard the Danube 3521.—But why is Viddin, a fortress on the Danube, thus distinguished from all the other fortresses in the Ottoman empire? Viddin is not a frontier garrison of singular importance in the ordinary state of affairs in Turkey; but Viddin, at the time when Mr. Eton published his work, was noised in Europe because of the rebellion of Passwan Oglu.

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Sultan's revenues,

The treasure called *ich hazné*, which is devoted to the private use of the sultan, is administered by the officers of his household.

fixed

The imperial domains, *hass humaïun*, furnish the fixed part of this revenue, and it has

and casual,

other eventual sources of augmentation. The sultan condescends to accept presents from his servants on certain festivals, or on occasion of great solemnities, such as the birth or circumcision of a son*. On the nomination to great offices he receives, under the name of *peshkesh* or gift, a pecuniary homage, proportioned to the dignity conferred. It is a common opinion, that the sultan's revenues are so ample as to enable him, after providing for all the expenses of the court and household, to lay aside a considerable sum of money every year; and we are even told by respectable authors, that "after the death

* "Il est d'usage d'envoyer, en ces occasions, des lettres circulaires aux *paschas*, aux gouverneurs, aux intendans, aux magistrats de toutes les provinces et de toutes les grandes villes de l'empire. Par ces lettres, le sultan leur fait part de la cérémonie, et les invite à s'y trouver. Ils y assistent en effet par des substituts qui, ce jour-là, les représentent à la cour, et font en leur nom de riches présens au jeune prince, en signe d'hommage et de servitude." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 289.)

Cantemir (p. 281) estimates the presents, sent to the emperors on the circumcision of their sons, as equal to half the yearly tribute of the empire.

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of every sultan, the treasure so amassed is inclosed in a certain chamber shut with an iron gate, the key-hole of which is stopped with lead, and over the gate is written in letters of gold, the treasure of such a sultan." I am unwilling to believe the assertion, though unable to contradict it on the authority of more correct information obtained by my own inquiries*. This however may safely

* See Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 57.—I may indeed appeal to the respectable authority of the Venetian ambassador, who, in his memoir to the senate, when speaking on the subject of the sultan's treasure, says, in opposition to the vulgar report of their being an annual saving of two millions of sequins. "Quæ res parum credibilis mihi visa est, quia rex ille in toto suo imperio nullas habet aurifodinas, *et ab ejus ministris repugnantia intellexi.*" (De urbe Constant. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium, in Turc. imp. statu, ap. Elzevir. p. 128.) It would appear, from the credulity with which the most improbable stories are received by the most sensible men, that a longer residence in a country than a traveller usually allows himself, is necessary to familiarize him with foreign customs, so as even to enable him to draw pure information from the best sources. Lord Sandwich, the posthumous publication of whose voyage round the Mediterranean is honourable to his memory, and ranks him in the first class of travellers in Turkey, has notwithstanding admitted, without hesitation, an account of the sultan's private property, which surpasses belief. "To conceive," says his Lordship, "the almost incredible value of this immense treasure, it will be necessary to figure to oneself *the vast riches of the whole series of the Greek emperors*, which, together with their capital, fell into the hands of Sultan Mahomet; as also the wealth of the many conquered provinces, annexed to the Turkish

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be credited, that there can never be a deficiency in the sultan's treasury, nor can it ever be found inadequate to the purposes of its establishment, so long as it is carefully guarded from dilapidation on the part of the administrators, and the state continues free from public commotions, which alone can prevent the collection, and retard the remittance, of the revenues. Its riches are not to be estimated by the amount of its receipts in specie. The purveyances which are exacted from the provinces comprehend every article of provision, sufficient for the numerous train of attendants attached to the court. Egypt sends an ample contribution of rice, sugar, coffee, drugs, and spices, from the produce of its own fields, or the commerce of Arabia and India. The mastic produced in Scio, which is so considerable as to give its name *sakis* to the island, is reserved for the use of the seraglio and the *harem*, with the exception of that part only which is

empire, besides all the magnificent presents, that have, for these many ages, been made by different sovereigns, who have been desirous of paying their court to the chiefs of this powerful monarchy; which, being daily increased by the continual forfeitures of the *pashas* and vizirs, must undoubtedly constitute a treasure of an inestimable value." (Voyage round the Mediterranean, in the years 1738 and 1739, p. 175.)

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allowed to the Turkish collectors and officers. It may be asserted, that the supplies from the provinces are such that nothing which the empire produces is ever bought with money for the service of the seraglio.

The establishment of the female branches of the imperial family is, in a great degree, imposed upon the vizirs or *pashas* who are honoured by an alliance with their master. The mother of the sultan supports her dignity by an appanage adequate to her rank. The administration of it is confided to an officer of importance in the state, under the name of *validé kiahyasi* (steward to the empress dowager). Her revenues are called *pashmaklik* (sandal money), and consist of streets in the metropolis or provincial cities, of towns, villages, and islands, throughout the whole empire. All the taxes and dues of the domains thus set apart for the maintenance of the sultanas are annually rented to the best bidder among private purchasers. In these districts the *pasha* of the province exercises no authority, except so far as regards the general police; since the revenues belong exclusively to the sultanas, and are collected by the farmers, who are generally the *vaivodas* or magistrates. The inhabitants

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are not however exempt from taxation in case of extraordinary impositions, or war-taxes levied by order of government.

Nizami djedid.

Attempts have been made, since the establishment of the *nizami djedid*, by the imposition of an excise tax, to improve the vast financial resources of the empire. This tax was created in order to produce a fund for the support of the great addition to the standing military force; a plan which has been first carried into execution by the present sultan. But whether from the want of clear views on the subject, or from the general aversion of the Turks to innovation, much disgust has been excited, and even insurrection. The scheme, however, is not yet abandoned, although it has by no means acquired solidity: but the standing army of the sultan, which is slowly improving in discipline, can alone give vigour to the system*.

* According to the regulations of the *nizami djedid*, every head of lesser cattle is taxed a *para*, an ox pays a *piastre*, wine two *paras* the *oke* (a quantity equal to two pounds and three quarters English), *raki*, or brandy, four *paras* the *oke*: and in like proportion the excise law extends to every object of stock and production.

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CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

Greatness and extent of the Turkish dominion.—Alarm of Christendom.—Consequences of the invention of gunpowder.—System of Turkish government over the tributary subjects,—and over Mussulmans.—Partition of lands to the conquerors.—Sources of revenue.—Inefficiency of the military system.—Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks;—on the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe;—on the emancipation of the Greeks.—The modern compared with the ancient Greeks;—the Athenians, and the Spartans.—Causes of the superiority of the ancient Greeks,—and of the decline of the national spirit.—Character of the modern Greeks.—Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia.—History of the first war with the czar of Muscovy.—Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia,—to the other states of Europe, and to the Ottoman subjects.—Russian church.—Russian government. Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks.—Remoteness of amelioration.

Greatness and extent of the Turkish dominion.

ABOUT two centuries ago the historian Knolles contemplated the mighty power of the Ottoman sovereigns, when they united under their sceptre the empires of the Saracens

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and Greeks, and had subjected part of Hungary and Persia. "If you consider," says he, "its beginning, progress, and uninterrupted success, there is nothing in the world more admirable and strange; if the greatness and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent and glorious; if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadful or dangerous; which, wondering at nothing but the beauty of itself, and drunk with the pleasant wine of perpetual felicity, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorn*." Busbequius, ambassador from the emperor Ferdinand the First, had before been aware of the danger which threatened Germany and all Christendom, and, in the true spirit of patriotism, had endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their situation. "We are not called upon to resist enemies of the same stamp with ourselves: the blind may contend with the blind, and their common errors may pass unobserved: but we have now to oppose the Turks, a vigilant, industrious, sober, and disciplined enemy, inured to military labour, skilful in tactics, and obedient to the rigours of service. Led on by these virtues, and forcing their way through desolated empires,

Alarm of Christendom.

* Knolles's preface to the history of the Turks.

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they have subdued every thing from the frontiers of Persia, and, trampling over the mangled bodies of hostile sovereigns and their subjects, have reached the frontiers of Austria, and threaten Vienna itself.*" Sandys, who travelled through Turkey and Egypt during the reign of Ahmed the First, expresses less apprehension; "for surely," says he, "it is to be hoped, that their greatness is not only at the height, but near an extreme precipitation: the body being grown too monstrous for the head; the sultans unwarlike; the soldiers corrupted with ease, wine, and women; their valour now meeting opposition; and empire so got, when it ceaseth to increase, doth begin to diminish†." It would be rash, at this distance of time, to controvert the opinion of a traveller so respectable, and who was an eye-witness of the facts from which he has drawn his conclusions; but the Turkish power, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, had not reached its highest pitch of elevation. Ahmed, himself a warrior, was succeeded by other warlike sultans; and the Ottoman armies continued to bear down the

* Busbeq. de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium.

† Sandys's Travels, p. 51. ed. 1627.

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opposition of European valour, till the gallant Sobieski forced them to abandon their ill-omened siege of Vienna, and changed the destinies of the world*. The latent causes of the failure of their extensive plans of conquest are to be traced in the history of remote nations and preceding ages: these were silently maturing in the sequestered cells and studious labours of Christian monks, even during the full blaze of their meridian splendour, and amidst their triumphs over the worship of Christ†.

Consequences of the invention of gunpowder.

Mahomet the Second, during the siege which terminated in the conquest of Constantinople, employed modern artillery, the secret of which had been revealed to him by a Dane, or Hungarian, of the name of Urban‡. But, whatever fugitive advantages the Turks may have derived from this auxiliary, the invention of gunpowder may be considered as the principal obstacle to the progress of the Turkish power, and the chief cause of its decline.

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 310.

† Bartholomew Schwartz, a German monk, is commonly said to have invented gunpowder in the year 1320, though it is certainly known, that this composition is described in a treatise written by Roger Bacon about the year 1280.

‡ Gibbon, v. xii, p. 197.

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From the heroic ages to the days of chivalry, bodily strength and skill in the use of arms had constituted the perfect soldier. But, though art and tactics gave a disciplined army a prodigious advantage over multitudes without order, and courage without skill, and though experience, even then, had shown, that the event of a battle depended more on intellectual sagacity than on corporeal exertions, yet war was less a science: it could neither be studied in privacy and retirement, nor could a nation long maintain its martial vigour under the debilitating influence of repose, nor retain a familiarity with military exercises sufficient for any perilous emergency. The interval of peace between the first and second Punic wars rendered the Romans inferior to the Carthaginians, and the luxuries of Italy in a short time enervated the victorious armies of Hannibal. But, on the discovery of gunpowder and the introduction of fire-arms, the boiling courage, whether the effect of physical or moral causes, whether from strong nerves and high spirits, from the heat of patriotism, or the effervescence of fanaticism, which before had given to one soldier a superiority over another; the excess of bodily strength, which alone, in

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some instances, had constituted the hero; lost their advantages: and a steady and obedient courage on the part of the men, coolness and deliberation on the part of the officers, became the virtues of the soldier. The efforts of individual heroism and the thirst for personal distinction, which were formerly encouraged and had produced such great and surprising effects, were now to be moderated and restrained; and it became erroneous or criminal to overstep the line which was traced out for the general conduct. The impetuosity of the Turkish soldiers could ill brook such restraints; and the feeling of individual worth concurred with the memory of their illustrious ancestors to endear their ancient habits and modes of warfare. They possessed the adventurous, though not the gallant, spirit of chivalry, and, like the knights-errant, regretted, that personal prowess was made subservient to an invention which gave to artifice and cowardice an advantage over bravery and skill*. Busbequius noticed the

* Ariosto has transmitted to us their sentiments in his beautiful poem of Orlando Furioso. He represents his hero as having rescued the dominions of Olimpia, a princess of Friza, from the usurpation of Cymosco, who had baffled the efforts of former adventurers by the superiority of his newly invented weapons.

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aversion of the Turks from the use of fire-arms, and their preference of ancient weapons, but when he wrote, he could not foresee the evils which their prejudices have occasioned.

A Dalmatian horseman (one of those called by the Turks *delhi*, from their intemperate courage or rashness) rode express to Constantinople, and reported to the divan the unfortunate result of an incursion into Croatia, where two thousand five hundred Turks had been surprised by a party of five hundred musqueteers, and routed with great slaughter.

Orlando however defeated him, and bore away his musquet as a trophy; not to use it, but to bury it in the sea, and to remove it from human research.

L'intenzion, non già, perchè lo tolle,
Fu per voglia d'usarlo in sua difesa,
Che sempre atto stimò d'animo molle
Gir con vantaggio in qual si voglia impresa;
Ma per gittarlo in parte, onde non volle
Che mai potesse ad uom più fare offesa.
E la polve, e le palle, e tutto il resto
Seco portò, che apparteneva à questo. (Canto nono.)

His execrations against the invention, which were repeated by Don Quixote in terms equally bitter, are characteristic of the spirit of chivalry.

O maladetto, o abbominoso ordigno;
Che fabbricato nel tartareo fondo
Fosti per man di Belzebù maligno,
Che ruinar per te disegnò il mondo.
All' inferno, onde uscisti, ti rassegno. (Stanza 91.)

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The Ottoman pride was more affected by the dishonour which the arms of Soliman had sustained than by the loss of troops, who, the divan supposed, had acted in a manner unworthy of the Turkish name. "Have I failed in making myself understood?" said the *delhi*, unmoved at the reproach. "Do not you hear, that we were overpowered by musquetry? We were routed by the force of fire, and not by the bravery of the enemy. The event of the battle would have been very different if it had been really a contest of courage: but they took fire to their aid, and we acknowledge ourselves to have been conquered by its violence. Fire is one of the elements, and indeed the most powerful; and what is the strength of man, that it should resist the shock of the elements?" "Hence," says Busbequius, "I learned, that the small arms used by our cavalry are peculiarly formidable to the Turks*."

* "Idem usu venire audio Persis. Ex quo fuit non nemo, qui suaderet Rustano, ad bellum adversus Persas cum suo rege proficiscenti, ut turmam ducentorum equitum ex suis domesticis institutam *sclopetis* armaret, magno terrori futuram hostibus, et stragem magnam facturam. Nec consilium aspernatus Rustanus eam turmam instituit, sclopetis instruit, curat exercendam. Sed nondum dimidiam partem itineris confecerant, cum aliud ad sclopeti usum necessarium deficere cœpit. Amittebatur quotidie ali-

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While discipline and attention to the military exercises could insure success in war, the Turks were the first of military nations. When the whole art of war was changed, and victory or defeat became matter of calculation, the rude and illiterate Turkish warriors experienced the fatal consequences of ignorance, without suspecting the cause. Accustomed to employ no other means than force, they sunk into despondency when force could no longer avail; and, having now almost abandoned the hope of recovery, they present to their own astonishment, and to the mockery of Europe, "the mighty shadow of unreal power."

System of Turkish government over the tributary subjects,

Their system of government was still less scientific than that of their warfare. To constitute a community, interested in the pre-

quid aut frangebatur, raris qui possent reficere. Sic bona sclopetorum pars jam inutilis reddita erat: et cum ea de causa pœnitebat ejus teli, tum quod munditiei, cui valde student Turcæ, adversabatur, conspiciebantur manibus fuligine infectis, vestitu maculoso, informibus thecis et pyxidibus undique pendulis, ut risui essent commilitonibus, et ab eis per ludibrium medicamentarii vocitarentur, ita cum nec sibi nec aliis cum hoc habitu placerent, Rustanum circumsistunt: mancos et inutiles sclopetos proferunt: quemnam ex his fructum speret, ubi ad hostes ventum sit: *rogant ut se illis deoneret, arma reddat usitata.* Re diligenter considerata, non putavit causam esse Rustanus ut refragaretur. Sic cum bona ejus venia *sagittas et arcus resumpserunt.*" (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 132.)

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servation of the empire, from the various and discordant classes of people comprehended in its vast extent, was a task which called for a genius of the highest order, for the most profound acquaintance with human affairs, and the most extensive knowledge of mankind. To harmonize them was not, however, the wish of the Ottoman legislators. "The bended head," according to a maxim of Turkish justice, "is not to be struck off*." But, though submission to their power averted the stroke of death, nothing short of embracing the religion of their prophet could exonerate the vanquished from fines and personal subjection. The conquered people, if they obstinately refused the offer of conversion, became, together with their possessions, their industry, and their posterity, virtually the property of their masters. "Their substance," says the law, "is as our substance; their eye as our eye; their life as our life†."

* Cantemir, p. 72.

† Cantemir, p. 276. It was asked of the *mufti*, "if eleven Mussulmans, without just cause, kill an infidel who is a subject of the emperor and pays tribute, what is to be done?" The *mufti* subscribed with his own hand, "though the Mussulmans should be a thousand and one, let them all die." (Cant. p. 183.) But it may truly be said, "quid leges, sine moribus?" for the protection of the law avails nothing to the oppressed infidel.

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In such a state of subjection their claim to justice and security was precarious, and their lives and fortunes were made subservient to the necessities of the state, and the interests of the superior and privileged class, who strove by every means, however injurious and insulting to their feelings, to suppress, instead of exciting their energies, to debilitate their minds to the level of slavery, and to insure their submission to the forms of government established by themselves. The state haughtily rejected their active services; as, at best, they must be languid in its defence, or more probably hostile to its cause*.

and over Mussulmans.

The Turks, on the contrary, were attached to the constitution by every motive which fanaticism or self-interest could urge: favourites of heaven, and lords of the earth; the infidel tributary subjects were sacrificed without scruple to the interest, the convenience, or the caprice of the faithful. The precepts

* In judging of the exercise of government in Turkey, it is necessary to bear in mind this great political distinction of Turks and *rayahs*. It is evident, that the government should be considered as it is exercised over the natural subjects or Turks, and not over the aliens or *rayahs*. It would be unjust to characterize the Spartan government only from its treatment of the Helotes.

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of the *koran*, and the decrees of the sultan secured to the Turkish subjects equal right to all posts of trust or dignity, equal justice, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of rapine or of industry. The public force was lodged in the hands of the Mussulman people; and frequent examples occur in history of their having directed it against the heads of the state or the church, when they apprehended injustice, or felt oppression. Party rage has led them to acts of violence, and even rebellion, against their legal sovereign; but to change or new-model the system of government, could never have entered into the minds of men who acknowledge no superiority but that of official rank, to which all may hope to attain, and who lord it over the subjected *rayahs*, every one in his own sphere, with undisputed, and almost uncontrolled authority.

Partition of lands to the conquerors.

The empire, like one great manor, was parcelled out according to feudal usages; and all the natural and improvable advantages of soil, climate, and productions, were held out as incitements to their warriors, from their captains of thousands and captains of hundreds to the private volunteers, as a foretaste of the sweets of paradise to those who

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had not obtained martyrdom in the propagation of their faith and the extension of their power. These military tenures, on the death of the incumbents, lapsed to the crown; and, as under no circumstances, except in the possessions of the church, the grants were hereditary, there could be no thought of a distant futurity, no care for the posterity of a stranger; the hope of preserving, or the desire of improving estates was confined to the term of a single life; and all ate and drank, to exhaustion and impoverishment, for on the morrow they were to die*.

* See Rycaut, p. 78. Mignot, t. i, p. 394. Pouqueville, however (t. i, p. 358), seems to draw a different conclusion from the institution of *timars*: though the fact may be, that, as property of this kind is still less precarious than that which is not so assigned, the only ameliorations, if they can deserve the name, which are observable throughout the Turkish empire, may be on the estates of the feudal proprietors.

"The Turks," says Olivier, "enjoy every where with the indifference of tenants." Busbequius too observed, on passing through Buda, the capital of Hungary, that the Turks suffered the palaces which they inhabited to fall into decay, without troubling themselves about even necessary repairs.

"Ils bâtissent le moins qu'ils peuvent; ils ne réparent jamais rien: un mur menace ruine, ils l'étaient; il s'éboule, ce sont quelques chambres de moins dans la maison; ils s'arrangent à côté des décombres: l'édifice tombe enfin, ils en abandonnent le sol, ou, s'ils sont obligés d'en déblayer l'emplacement, ils n'emportent les plâtras que le moins loin qu'ils peuvent." (Denon, t. i, p. 198.)

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Sources of revenue.

The spoils of war, the contributions from the natural riches of the country and from the industry of the *rayahs*, which, however, was much repressed by the uncertain enjoyment of their acquisitions, furnished government with the means of supporting all its establishments, whether of utility, of luxury, or splendour: but the financial operations were as rudely conducted as they were, in the same period, in western Europe. The direct extortions of government were practised only upon the great and powerful. The means of raising revenue from the provinces were left almost to the discretion of the governors; and they, and their inferior agents, restrained in their tyranny over the Turks, exerted their unlimited authority over the *rayahs*, in employing the endless inventions of oppression to force the proprietors of money, the husbandman, the artisan, and the merchant, to disclose and surrender their concealed property.

Inefficiency of the military system.

The force of the Turkish empire is a militia composed of the total mass of the Mussulman subjects; but uninformed, undisciplined, and intractable: if compared to an European army, they are merely a disorderly crowd. The finances, in the calculation of which vio-

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lence and extortion always formed a principal part, are incapable of being improved, so as to be sufficient for the support of a regular standing army, by any constitutional means, or by any means which the people, instigated by turbulent and ambitious leaders, would not efficaciously oppose: so that, notwithstanding the efforts of the porte towards ameliorating their military system and introducing European improvements, there is little ground for expecting, that they will ever again bring their armies into the field, on this side of the Bosphorus, against a foreign enemy, unless impelled by despair or aided by a powerful ally. To oppose a rebel in a distant province, a neighbouring *pasha* must be stimulated by the allurement of conquest and plunder, or incited by rewards and the promise of new dignities*. The governor of an insignificant fortress, at no very great distance from the capital, not long ago insulted the government, almost at the gates of the seraglio, and baffled the utmost efforts of the porte: the

* Mr. Eton, however, gives too degrading an idea of the weakness of the porte, when he asserts (p. 290), "that in the country about Smyrna, there are great *agas*, who are independent lords, and maintain armies, and *often lay that city under contribution.*"

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late *capudan pasha*, Hussein, was compelled to sacrifice his own honour, together with the dignity of the sultan, to the humiliation of treating with a revolted subject; and, at this time, there is no province in Romelia, where troops of licentious banditti do not annually intercept the caravans, interrupt communication, plunder the husbandman, and desolate the country*.

Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks;

At a period like the present, when the fate of Turkey is fluctuating in uncertainty, when its inferiority to the nations of Europe is become so evident, and when it is surrounded by neighbours whose power is great as their ambition, it seems to require no supernatural foresight to announce an approaching revolution. But is Turkey no longer to exist as a nation, or is the most numerous part of the people to resign the sovereignty into the hands of their emancipated subjects, and in

* I have travelled through several provinces of European Turkey, and cannot convey an idea of the state of desolation in which that beautiful country is left. For the space of seventy miles, between Kirk Kilisé and Carnabat, there is not an inhabitant, though the country is an earthly paradise. The extensive and pleasant village of Faki, with its houses deserted, its gardens over-run with weeds and grass, its lands waste and uncultivated, and now the resort of robbers, affects the traveller with the most painful sensations.

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their turn to submit their necks to the yoke? Are we to admit, with Mr. Eton, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the re-establishment of the Greek empire, are what sound policy and even justice require; for, "*according to the laws of nations*, the Turks have not, by length of possession, acquired a right to the dominion of the countries they conquered*." This, I apprehend, is carrying up the question too high; for, on such principles, every people must first examine the ground on which they themselves stand, and it would then be difficult to determine what nation has a right to attack and dispossess the Turks. Mr. Eton is positive, "that the Greeks will emancipate themselves from the yoke of Turkey†." "They are then," says Volney, "to recall the arts and sciences into their native land, to open a new career to legislation, to commerce, to industry, and to efface the glory

on the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe;

on the emancipation of the Greeks.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, preface, p. 9. Denon, I think, reasons better. "Si la terre que nous foulions leur étoit mal acquise, ce n'étoit pas à nous à le trouver mauvais; et au moins plusieurs siécles de possession établissoient leurs droits." (Voyage en Egypt, t. i, p. 284.)

† Survey of the Turkish empire, preface, p. 10.

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of the ancient East, by the brighter glory of its regeneration*."

The modern compared with the ancient Greeks;

But can men who, "in the revolution of ten centuries, made not a single discovery to exalt the dignity, or promote the happiness of mankind, who held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony†," and have since lain, "vanquished and weltering," through the long space of three hundred and fifty years, lost even to the love of liberty or the faculty of employing it; can such men suddenly recover from the stupor of so tremendous a fall, and emulate the virtues of their remote and illustrious ancestors? If indeed they be the descendants of the ancient Greeks; for how fallen, how changed from those who, alone in the whole history of man, have left one bright page, have illustrated one short period, and have held up to the insatiable admiration of posterity the only models of human nature which approach to perfection! Who are the modern Greeks?

* Volney, considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs.

† Gibbon, v. x, p. 161.

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and whence did Constantine collect the mixed population of his capital; the herd of dogmatists, and hypocrites, whom ambition had converted to the new religion of the court? Certainly not from the families which have immortalized Attica and Laconia. They never sprang from those Athenians whose patriotic ardour could not wait the tardy approach of the Persian army, but impelled them over the plains of Marathon to an instantaneous charge, which forced the superior numbers of the invader to seek refuge in the sea. The lofty and independent spirit of the Athenians could not brook the mild yoke of Persian despotism: they refused to dishonour the soil of Attica by offering the smallest particle of it as a tribute to a foreign sovereign; though their enlightened patriotism could, upon a great emergency, rise superior even to the natural attachment which so powerfully binds men to their native soil: they abandoned their city, with the temples of their deities and the tombs of their ancestors, to the fury of the barbarians, and embarked on board their navy, what really constituted the Athenian common-wealth, the whole of the Athenian citizens. the Athenians,

The invitation of Constantine attracted no

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philosopher from the banks of the Ilissus, where literature and science flourished, even when the use of arms was prohibited to the citizens of Athens. The capital, with all its allurements of splendour and of luxury, excited no interest in comparison with the more enchanting scene of groves and gardens which had been consecrated to philosophy: and, until finally expelled by Theodosius, they continued to study the doctrines of the Academy, the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Garden, in the same shades in which they were first taught.

and the Spartans.

Still less can the modern Greeks be supposed the descendants of those Spartan citizens to whom a state of actual warfare was repose, when compared with the intervals of peace, which were spent in gymnastic exercises and the most toilsome duties of a military life. Formed by the rigid observance of the laws of Lycurgus, and animated with the most exalted enthusiasm which the love of liberty can inspire, Leonidas and his little band of ever-memorable patriots made a generous sacrifice of their lives at the defiles of Thermopylæ for the independence of Greece. But the Spartans were the terror of all the neighbouring states, except those who,

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were their dependent allies. At length the devouring fire of their valour consumed itself: and long before the seat of government was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the Spartan families, if not wholly extinct, could no longer be distinguished among the mass of submissive subjects of the Roman empire.

Causes of the superiority of the ancient Greeks.

The climate of Greece has been supposed to be peculiarly favourable to the birth and expansion of talents; but it seems unreasonable to ascribe to climate or to physical constitution effects which cannot be the result of any organization. The Athenians indeed were peculiarly characterized by a quick and accurate perception of beauty or deformity, by a delicate and distinguishing taste. But taste is less the gift of nature than the effect of study. Demosthenes addressed his eloquent discourses to the general assembly, composed of the Athenian populace; the poets enriched the Athenian stage with the sublimest and most pathetic tragedies; the labours of the statuary and architect were submitted to the judgment of the people; and they presided over the public exhibitions of strength, of skill, and agility. They were early formed in the gymnasia and

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public schools to the contemplation of beauty and grace; each citizen was ambitious to excel in athletic vigour at the public games, in oratory at the general assemblies, and in music and dancing on the public festivals. Drawing and the arts of design formed essential parts of the public education; and sculpture furnished the objects of their public and private devotion, the ornaments of their houses, and the history of their families. What was so generally useful, was necessarily attended to: and judgment, if not skill, in the liberal arts was indispensable to the comforts, the pleasures, and the respectability of every citizen.

and of the decline of the national spirit.

National character is entirely modified by circumstances. The loss of liberty and political independence had, even in the time of the early Roman emperors, sullied this beautiful portrait; and the Greek had already dwindled into the *Græculus esuriens*, the hungry parasite, fawning, intriguing, subtle, argumentative, and loquacious. For the display of such talents the imperial court was the proper sphere: the degenerate Greeks crowded to the new capital in Thrace, in numbers sufficient to fix the language and stamp the national character: under weak and super-

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stitious monarchs they exercised their licentiousness in morals, and their intolerance in religion; and from degradation to degradation, they fell at length under subjection to the turban, which they had deliberately preferred to an union with the western Christians.

That the same spirit is preserved among the modern Greeks, may be demonstrated from several passages in the journals of travellers; among whom I shall quote, in confirmation of my own assertion, only the last and most impartial observer of the Greeks, Dr. Pouqueville, who says, that their hatred of the Turks is less than that which they bear towards those Christians who acknowledge the supremacy of the pope*. A passage in the history of Cantemir strongly corroborates this assertion, and shows, that passion and prejudice are the only guides of the Greeks whenever their religion is concerned. "I am apt to believe," he says, "that Phranza was impaired in his memory by age, cares, and calamities, when he began to write his history†;" and he takes every occasion to

* See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. i, p. 246.

† See Ottoman history, p. 83, note 11.

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reject his testimony and to controvert his statement of facts. The grounds of this illiberality, towards an historian who, in the opinion of the judicious Gibbon, has recorded contemporary events, of which, from his high situation, he was a competent judge, in a manner deserving of credit and esteem*, are not to be sought in the writings, but in the biography, of Phranza. He was one of the conforming Greeks, who, from patriotic motives, joined with the Latins in the church of Sancta Sophia in the communion of prayer and praise; and though Phranza acknowledges his own insincerity, and almost expresses contrition for having consented to the union of the churches†, the lapse of two centuries and a half had not in any degree extenuated the deep stain of his apostacy; and Cantemir, though more enlightened than the mass of his countrymen, execrates his memory, and abjures communion with the Azymites, with all the zeal and fury of the sense-

* See Decline and fall of the Roman empire, v. xii, p. 177, note 48. p. 204, note 31. Phranza was *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain of the emperor Constantine.

† Phranza (l. iii, c. 20) acknowledges, that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii.

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less populace, whose bigotry and intolerance precipitated the downfal of their country*.

Long before the final conquest of the Roman empire, the co-operation of various causes had suspended or corrupted the arts, and had perverted the very sources of science. The study of natural causes had given place to theological subtleties; the science of government had sunk under tyranny; and the arts administered only to effeminacy. The few remains of ancient learning were tinctured and connected with dogmas and superstitions which the Turks held in contempt or abhorrence, as being contradictory to the precepts of their own religion. They therefore, like the unlettered warriors who overspread the western countries of Europe, established, in their new conquests, the feudal system of government, with which they were familiarized, without deigning to modify it by institutions previously existing

* The Greeks, according to Leonardus Chiensis (de captiv. Constant. ad calcem Chalcondylæ, p. 318, 314), persisted, after the loss of Constantinople, in ascribing their misfortunes to the union: the good bishop discovers equal ingenuity in unfolding the secrets of Providence. "Non unio facta, sed unio ficta, ad fatale urbem detrahebat excidium, quo divinam iram maturatam in hosce dies venisse cognovimus."

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among the ancient inhabitants. Depriving their conquered subjects of their political existence, they allowed them a limited and imperfect exercise of their civil rights on the payment of an annual tribute, and tolerated their peculiar modes of worship in a restrained and private manner. The sense of present degradation, overwhelming the recollection of past independence, humbled the minds of the Greeks to the level of their abject situation; and the vices, peculiar to a state of domestic slavery, were superadded to those which luxury and superstition had before generated.

Character of the modern Greeks.

Mr. Eton, in his chapter on the political state of Greece, gives the history of some skirmishes between the *pasha* of Yanina, and the Greek inhabitants of the mountains of Sulli. The particulars were communicated to him by a Greek interpreter, of the name of Amaxaris, who served on board the Tigre under Sir Sidney Smith, during the Syrian and Egyptian campaigns. These, and the piracies of a Greek of the name of Lambro, are "the struggles which," according to Mr. Eton*, "show, that Greece is about to

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 334.

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awake to the assertion of her native rights." But the details present a disgusting picture of the warfare of the modern Greeks, which is in fact, in a political point of view, only the devastation of banditti, and wholly undeserving the notice of history. I blush, while I quote Mr. Eton's eulogium of the *gallant Lambro*, who pillaged and ransacked the *Greek* islands of the Archipelago, and molested the trading ships of *all nations*, even after the peace of Yassy was signed, when he was disavowed by Russia, and declared a pirate*. The account of his defeat by two French frigates is given by Olivier. Mr. Eton says, "the Greeks proved on this occasion their love of liberty, their passion for glory, and a *perseverance* in toils, obedience to discipline, and a contempt of danger and death, worthy of the brightest pages of their history: they fought with, and conquered, very superior numbers, and when at

* Mr. Eton, in a recent publication (see Letter to the Earl of D * * *, p. 93), says, that this man "was received by the empress in the most honourable manner—the rank of a full colonel and large estates were given him; he is now a Russian nobleman, and decorated with the military order of St. George." If this account be true, the Russian government is, I think, safe from calumny.

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last they were attacked with an inequality of force, as great as Leonidas had to encounter" (Leonidas! great, injured name), "they fought till their whole fleet was sunk, and a few only saved themselves in boats*."

That I may not be accused of calumniating the modern Greeks, it will, perhaps, not be improper to review the opinions of former writers on the subject. Sandys says, "but now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance (for they have no schools of learning among them), their liberty into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their empire. For so base are they, as thought it is, they had rather remain as they be, than endure a temporary trouble by prevailing succours; and would with the Israelites repine at their deliverers†."

"I thought it," says De Tott, "a well-grounded observation which Manoly Serdar, himself a Greek, made, 'that his nation in nothing resembled the ancient empire of the Greeks, except in the pride and fanaticism which caused its ruin‡.'"

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 368.

† See Sandys's travels, p. 77.

‡ See De Tott's memoirs, p. 91. "C'est une belle idée sur

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Mr. Eton may be considered as the champion of the Greeks. He asserts, that "a Grecian state will quickly attain a proud pre-eminence among nations." "Strengthened by such an alliance, we should maintain that ascendancy in the Mediterranean, of which the union of France and Spain threatens to deprive us"—"which if Great Britain does not embrace, her influence and weight in the Mediterranean, *and perhaps in the scale of Europe*, must speedily sink*."

Mr. Eton proceeds to analyze the Greeks, and arranges them in distinct classes, begin-

le papier," says a very intelligent observer, "que de voir les Russes à Constantinople y rétablir l'empire Grec. Mais ceux qui forment de si beaux plans ignorent que les Grecs modernes sont comme ces vins, dont il ne reste que la lie; qu'ils n'ont conservé des Grecs anciens que les vices, sur lesquels ils ont encheri; qu'ils sont deux fois plus fanatiques que les Turcs, s'il est possible, et qu'ils seroient, par cette raison, mille fois plus cruels, s'ils devenoient, je ne dis pas maîtres, mais plus libres." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 162.)

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 437, 440, 441. In the letter to the Earl of D * * *, p. 12, (London, 1807) is the following curious passage. "In 1798, I published my survey of the Turkish empire, and I therein foretold, if the measures I had proposed were not adopted, a state of things would be produced which I *distinctly described*, and that prophecy has been in a great part most minutely fulfilled, and the little that remains, there is, I fear, too much reason to apprehend is fast accomplishing."

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ning with the Greeks of the *Fanal*, from whom are appointed the dragomans of the porte, and the *vaivodas* of Wallachia and Moldavia. "They are continually intriguing to get those in office removed, and obtain their places; even children cabal against their fathers, and brothers against brothers. They are all people of very good education, and are polite, but haughty, vain, and ambitious to a most ridiculous degree. As to their noble extraction it is a matter of great uncertainty. *They have in general all the vices of the Turks of the seraglio;* treachery, ingratitude, cruelty, and intrigue which stops at no means. *When they become vaivodas, they are in nothing different from Turkish pashas in tyranny.* In such a situation the mind must lose its vigour, the heart its generosity. They do not weep over the ruins which they cannot restore, nor sigh to rear others of equal magnificence." "But," adds Mr. Eton, "they are the only part of their nation, who have totally relinquished the ancient Grecian spirit." In the second class are the merchants and lower orders of Constantinopolitan Greeks, who indeed have no very marked character; "they are much the same as the trading Christians in all

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parts of the empire, that is to say, *as crafty and fraudulent as the Jews.*" Of course, neither of these classes are meant by Mr. Eton when he says, "the Greeks retain so much energy of character, and are so little abased, for like noble coursers they champ the bit, and spurn indignantly the yoke; when once freed from these, they will enter the course of glory*." We must not therefore be discouraged, but follow Mr. Eton in his characteristic descriptions, and we shall find, that, in the third class, "the Greeks of Macedonia are robust, courageous, *and somewhat ferocious.*" "Those of Athens and Attica are still remarkably witty and sharp. All the islanders are lively and gay, fond of singing and dancing to an excess, affable, hospitable, and goodnatured; in short *they are the best*†."

I must here be permitted to observe, that the travellers *who have visited* Athens and the Greek islands, do not give unqualified

* Mr. Eton's idea of the Olympic games is as incorrect as his idea of Grecian liberty. What opinion can we form of either from his metaphor of wild horses running about without yoke or bit?

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 340, 342, 344, 345.

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praise to their inconsiderable population. Tournefort, Spon, and Wheler, made the complete tour of these islands, and faithfully describe the inhabitants, as a low, plodding, persecuted, and miserable race.—But to return to Mr. Eton.

"*The Greeks of the Morea are much given to piracy.*" "Those of Albania and Epirus, and the mountaineers in general are a very warlike, brave people, *but very savage, and make little scruple of killing and robbing travellers**."

Such is Mr. Eton's picture of the Greeks, from whose future alliance Great Britain is to promise herself such certain advantages. "Allies who long ago would have enabled his Majesty and the Emperor, in all human probability, to have humbled a foe which now threatens all Europe with total subversion†."

Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia.

Spon, who published his travels in 1679, has observed, that "of all the princes of Christendom, there was none whom the Turks so much feared as the czar of Muscovy‡." But, were it not for the testimony

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 346.

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 371.

‡ Voyage fait aux années 1675 et 1676 par Jacob Spon, docteur médecin, agrégé à Lyons, et George Wheler, gentilhomme Anglois, p. 270, ed. 1679.

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of a contemporary writer, it would have been difficult to imagine, that the want of success in one short campaign could have struck the Turkish troops with such a panic, or have excited apprehensions, which, at that time, must to all others have appeared imaginary and vain.

History of the first war with the czar of Muscovy.

The revolt of the Cossaks from the dominion of the porte was the cause of the first war between the Russians and Turks: and a review of the few events of that war will serve, in some degree, to explain the motives of that well-founded apprehension of the growing power of Russia which was then first suggested.

The following passage from Voltaire describes the state of the Cossaks, at the period now alluded to.

"The Cossaks inhabit the Ukraine, a country situate between Little Tartary, Poland, and Russia. It extends from north to south about a hundred leagues, and as many from east to west. The Borysthenes, or Dnieper, which runs through it from north-west to south-east, divides it into two equal parts. The northern provinces of the Ukraine are rich and cultivated. Its southern part, which lies in the forty-eighth degree of lati-

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tude, is the most fertile, but the most desert, country in the world. A bad government counteracts the bounties of nature. The few inhabitants on the borders of Little Tartary neither plant nor sow, because their country is open to the ravages of the Tartars and the Moldavians, nations of robbers, who would destroy their harvests, and pillage their houses. The Cossaks have always aspired after independence, but the situation of their country, surrounded by the dominions of Russia, Turkey, and Poland, reduces them to the condition of dependent allies of one or other of these great states*."

The Cossaks, though a nation of Chris-

* Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède, liv. iv. See also in Peyssonnel (Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont-Euxin, p. 126), an account of the four principal branches into which the family of the Cossaks is divided. The Romans, as it appears probable from the epitaph of Tiberius Plautius given by Montfaucon (l'Antiquité expliquée, t. v, part. i, p. 128, planche 114), drew contributions of wheat from the Ukraine. A marble fragment with an inscription was discovered in Little Tartary, in the year 1804, near the lazaretto of Dubazar, on the left bank of the Tyras or Dniester, which mentions the reconstruction of magazines in the reign of the emperor Trajan, by the soldiers of the fifth Macedonian legion under Q. Pompeius Falco, the proprætor of Dacia, "apothecas cum porticu vetustate conlapsas a solo restituit superposito secundo statu."

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tians, resembled the Tartars in their modes of life and habits of war. Their *hetman*, Doroshenskoi, had revolted from Poland and sought the protection of the Ottoman porte; but, piqued at the refusal of Mahomet the Fourth to employ him in his expedition against the Poles, he had subjected his nation to Russia, with an army of sixty thousand men of approved valour. The czar, who, besides gaining over such powerful auxiliaries and obtaining an extension of territory beyond the Dnieper, secured his own frontiers from their incursions, willingly accepted their allegiance, and promised to protect them against their enemies. The honour of the sultan, and the safety of his empire (for the Cossaks had sometimes extended their depredations even into the suburbs of Constantinople*), compelled him to revenge this breach of faith. But, though the Russian power at that time was depised by the Turks, a war in an unknown and inhospitable country, where cold and hunger would impede the progress, and waste the strength, of an invading army, was reluc-

* Chardin's Travels, p. 48, 64, 65.—The fortress of Oczacow, at the entrance of the *liman* formed by the confluence of the Dnieper and the Bogh, was built to prevent the piracies and incursions of the Cossaks on the Euxine sea.

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tantly resolved upon, and not actually begun until all means of reconciliation with the Cossaks had been tried in vain. Sixty thousand Russians and Cossaks, entrenched near the capital of the Ukraine, prevented the junction of the Tartars with the Turks. The Turks, alarmed at the defeat and slaughter of their confederates, and not daring to risk an engagement, fled with precipitation, and repassed the Bogh. Turkish perseverance was soon exhausted by difficulties; and the vizir was eager to conclude a war, in which success could be procured only by the endurance of hardships which he thought too severe for mortals*. Fortune was now

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 291.—Voltaire describes the country to the east, between Grodno and the Borysthenes, as covered with marshes, deserts, and immense forests. It was here, that Charles the Twelfth and the czar carried on war, in the middle of the winter of 1709. The Swedes and the Russians, each led on by their warlike sovereign, accounted all seasons alike. The importance and the difficulties of the campaign were expressed by Charles on a medal, *prematurely* struck after the battle of Hollosin, "silvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes, victi;" for the rigours of the season were so great that, in one march, the king lost two thousand men by the severity of the cold, and his army was so much reduced, during the winter, that he was forced to yield his laurels to the czar, at the battle of Pultowa. I travelled through the Ukraine in the summer of 1805, and witnessed the general truth of Voltaire's description of its physical geography, and its exuberant fertility.

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beginning to abandon the Ottoman arms in other quarters; and the despondency of the Turks, which Spon had observed, might be founded on the remark, that the first formal renunciation of territory which had been consecrated to Islamism by *khutbé* and *ezann*, was made to an hitherto-unknown enemy, against whom attack could not, in any age, avail*, and whose means of overpowering resistance must have been exaggerated in their minds, if computed, according to the Tartar reports, by the extent of his dominions. The sense of their danger must, however, have been confused and inaccurate, or the heroic wife of Peter the Great could not so easily have rescued the Russian empire from the

* Darius Hystaspes boldly invaded the Scythian wilds 513 years before Christ, with 700,000 men. His army, exposed during five months to hunger and thirst and the darts of a flying enemy, lost the greatest part of its strength, and would have been wholly destroyed, if the advice of Miltiades, to destroy the bridge of boats on the Danube, had not been rejected. While Darius was regretting the temerity of his undertaking, an ambassador from the kings of Scythia arrived, who, being introduced to the Persian monarch, delivered, in solemn silence, the gifts of his masters, which consisted of a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows. The situation of Darius, and his experience of unavailing hardships, made verbal explanation unnecessary: he hastily withdrew his troops, and abandoned his schemes of Scythian conquest. (Herodot. l. iv.)

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imminent danger which threatened it at the battle of the Pruth*. The genius of the Ottoman empire slumbered at the signing of the treaty, and seems still desirous of perpetuating his lethargy till the comsummation of its destiny. Every event has since

* The czar, relying on the succours promised him by Cantemir, the rebel-prince of Moldavia, had penetrated far into that country, when he found himself on the banks of the Pruth, surrounded by an army of 200,000 Turks and Tartars: his own troops, which at first had consisted only of 80,000 men, were reduced by desertions to less than 30,000, exhausted by fatigue and in absolute want of provisions and forage. In this situation, after giving orders for a general attack at daybreak, the czar had retired to his tent, anticipating in an agony of despair the event of so unequal a battle. The czarina alone dared to disobey his orders and break in upon his retirement: she had summoned a council of the general officers, and had prepared a letter for the grand vizir with proposals for peace: this letter she prevailed upon Peter to sign, and collecting all her money and jewels, she immediately despatched an officer to the Turkish camp. Her negotiations were so successful that, in spite of the remonstrances of the Swedish king and the intrigues of his agent Poniatowsky, the treaty was begun, concluded, and signed, on the 21st of July 1711. The czar stipulated to surrender the fortresses on the sea of Azoff, which had been ceded to him at the peace of Carlovitz in 1700, but he never performed his engagements. In the *ukaze*, or imperial proclamation, by which he afterwards solemnly admitted Catherine to a participation in the sovereignty and the honours of the coronation, he acknowledges with gratitude the important services which she had rendered to the Russian nation on this memorable occasion. (Voltaire, histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède, liv. v.)

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confirmed the forebodings of the Turks, and increased their apprehensions: and it seems now to be a popular opinion, that the city, *abounding in faith**, will shortly be contaminated by the presence, and polluted by the supremacy of the emperor of Russia †.

Though such an accession of territory might gratify the ambition of the sovereign, the interest of the Russian nobility strongly militates against it. The imagination can scarcely contemplate a power which, from the frozen marshes of the Neva, shall extend

Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia.

* *Islambol*, one of the names of Constantinople.

† Mr. Eton says (p. 200), "they have among them a prophecy, that *the sons of yellowness*, which they interpret to be the Russians, are to take Constantinople." The expression of the sons of yellowness certainly gives this assertion somewhat of an oriental tinge: but the truth is, that the Turks, ever since their defeats by the emperor Leopold (see Cantemir, p. 244), have among them a persuasion, that their footing in Europe is unstable, and that Asia is the country in which the true faith will longest flourish.

It is much to be regretted, that Dr. Wittman should have sullied his interesting journal by the insertion of the idle tales which ignorant interpreters invent to amuse the idle curiosity of their masters. I do not deny, that a Turk, in a moment of despondency, may have *believed* the existence of the tradition mentioned in page 233; but I doubt, that any Turk invented it. There is nothing Turkish in the composition, except the ignorance which does not discover, in the extent of the intervening country, a single point of resistance between the right bank of the Dniester and the walls of Constantinople.

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its icy sceptre over the savages of Tchouski Noss, and the glowing inhabitants of the Arabian deserts. Nevertheless, the establishment of such a power, if the idea can be realized, would follow from the annexation of Thrace to Russia: for what boundary could then be placed to its ambition? The Black Sea would furnish a navy which would command the Mediterranean; and the resistance of Asiatic troops would scarcely retard the march of a hardy and strictly disciplined soldiery. The consequence of such extension of dominion would be, either that the Russian empire would be divided into northern and southern, or, the seat of government being removed to a more genial climate, the north would again be neglected, and relapse into its former barbarism. Sweden might then discover, that conquest, except it be founded in justice, cannot be legally retained, and might demand the restitution of its ceded provinces. Civilization, which all the cares of a vigilant government cannot naturalize in Russia, and which, among the people, has made almost no progress, would again wither under the benumbing influence of the climate; and an eternal separation, except for the purposes of a limited com-

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merce, would be established between the northern and southern worlds. Mr. Eton, from his situation at St. Petersburgh, must have possessed superior advantages in studying the politics of the Russian cabinet: and the colossus of power, which the utmost stretch of an ordinary imagination can scarcely comprehend, shrinks to a diminutive size when compared with the gigantic proportions of that which Mr. Eton assures us was actually designed. "The empress's vast views of aggrandizement extended to the conquest of all European Turkey; the re-establishment of the Greek empire, and placing her grandson Constantine on the throne of Constantinople; of making Egypt an independent state; of incorporating Poland into her own empire; of making a conquest of Japan and a part of China, and establishing a naval power in those seas*."

* Survey of the Turkish empire, preface, p. xi.—And what next? was the sensible, though natural question of Pyrrhus's secretary, when his master had unfolded to him a similar scheme of conquest. Certainly, if the enjoyment or the communication of happiness be the ultimate end and highest gratification of life, the epicurean philanthropist, instead of feeling himself circumscribed by the line of the Russian frontiers, might find ample space for exhibiting his good-will towards men, without even descending from the heights of the little republic of St. Marino.

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to the other states of Europe, and to the Ottoman subjects.

Volney and other speculative political writers, considering the events, which they themselves had predicted, as inevitable, have felicitated mankind on the augmentation of happiness which must necessarily ensue on the accomplishment of their prophecies. Our fancy is dazzled, and our reason is subjugated by the fascination of their eloquence, and the subtlety of their arguments. The dislike of other Christian states to so dangerous an innovation is soothed by the suggestion, that nothing is to be apprehended from triumphant Christianity; and opposition is silenced by representing resistance as vain. "Russia," we are told, "is now possessed of all the means, so long and so perseveringly pursued from the time Peter the First took Azoff to this day, of annihilating the monstrous and unwieldy despotism of the Ottoman sceptre in Europe. The empress has also conceived the vast and generous design of delivering Greece from its bondage, and of establishing it under a prince *of its own religion*, as a free and independent nation."—"Another war must totally extinguish the Turkish power in Europe; an event desirable to most Christian nations, and particularly to Great Britain." Poussielgue, who accompanied the

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French expedition to Egypt, and whose talents are confessed, as well by the commander in chief as by the English editor of the intercepted correspondence, professes a contrary opinion. "It must eternally be the interest of France, of England, of Prussia, and even of the Emperor, to oppose the downfal of the Ottoman empire*." I will not undertake to determine the degree of respect which may be due to these different authorities, nor will I examine how far the circumstances which have arisen since the publication of these opinions, may have diminished the means, affected the interests, or changed the dispositions, of the states of Europe. But I question whether either religion or humanity would feel much cause for triumph, in the extension of the secular power of Russia, or in the enlargement of her ecclesiastical pale.

Russian church.

I have observed the Greek religion in Russia and in Turkey. I am indeed unlearned in its peculiar doctrines, but, judging of it from its practice, I confess it to be justly characterized, as a leprous composition of

* See Volney, considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs. Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 193, 397. Intercepted correspondence from Egypt, part 3d. London, 1800.

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ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism *. Voltaire describes, as antiquated superstitions, which the reformation, introduced by Peter the Great, had abolished, some customs and opinions so extraordinary that human reason can hardly be believed to be so degraded as to submit to their influence and to acknowledge their authority †. I have met with Russians among whom intoxication seems a precept of religion, but who would suffer martyrdom rather than smoke tobacco, because the holy scripture declares, that that which enters into the mouth of man does not defile him, but that only which comes out of his mouth. These are men of the old uncorrupted sect, who break the uniformity of a street rather than perform their devotions in a temple which is not built due east and west; who wear their beards in spite of Peter the Great; and who drink brandy with as much devotion as that monarch himself. Many, even of the reformed Russian church, abstain from eating pigeons, because the holy

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 217.—Such an assertion may be thought too general and too severe. The truth of it may even be doubted by those who have not seen Russia, as the state of religion in no country in Christendom can prepare a traveller for what he will there observe.

† See Histoire de Charles XII, liv. 1.

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spirit is represented under the form of a dove. Their confession is a mockery, if not even an encouragement to iniquity. The priest recites a catalogue of sins, the penitent roundly confesses himself guilty of the whole, and removes the whole load from his conscience by obtaining one general absolution. The priests are ignorant and base beyond what can be imagined. I have more than once turned away with contempt and disgust from the clergy of a parish staggering from house to house to confer their Easter benediction on their flock, and to congratulate them on the return of the festival in repeated draughts of brandy*. These reproaches cannot indeed be applied to the Greeks of Turkey. Their superstitions are somewhat less gross and offensive, though scarcely less absurd. Both the Russian and Turkish divisions of the Greek church unite in refusing even the name of Christian to men of other communions.

I assent to the opinion of Mr. Eton, that the court of Russia is sufficiently justified in Russian government.

* The patriarch of Georgia, a prelate of the Greek communion, is reported by Chardin (p. 191.) to have declared, "that he who was not absolutely drunk at great festivals, such as Easter and Christmas, could not be a good Christian, and deserved to be excommunicated."

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taking possession of both Tartaries, and reducing the inhabitants to something like a state of social subordination. The safety of Russia required it. The Tartars were constantly making incursions into Russia, Poland, and Moldavia, to carry off the inhabitants, and plunder and burn the villages.

The ramparts of the Tartars were their deserts: their retreats were in the boundless expanse of their naked plains. It was difficult to conquer, or to check them: the idleness and the independence of their mode of life were insuperable difficulties to their settling and becoming cultivators: want and privations were accounted slight inconveniences, compared to peaceable, laborious, and unagitated, life: nothing could be offered to them equivalent to the pleasures and advantages of rapine and of freedom. Wherever there was booty, there they discovered enemies; and their enemies themselves constituted their most valuable booty: but, though a change of life might be a severe punishment to their captives, they never treated them with intentional severity; they either sold them, or employed them, under the care of their women, in menial services, in keeping their flocks, or in pitching and

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removing their tents: the slaves, however, shared only the same hard fare which satisfied their masters, and experienced from them neither haughtiness, nor ill usage.

The conquests over the Tartars were in some degree necessitated by the geographical position of Russia, and it is probable, that the sum of human happiness is increased by their subjugation. It may, however, admit of a doubt, whether the same beneficial consequences would attend the further conquests of Russia, and the establishment of its government over the wide and various countries which have already been enumerated. In the opinion of Mr. Eton, there are two kinds of good government, placed, it is true, at opposite extremes of the scale, but both equally conducive to happiness, and between which there is no medium. "A nation must be perfectly free, or perfectly passive." "Liberty," he says, "has been no where understood, no, not in Athens, but in this happy island." And if in this respect he be in an error, at least the motive is commendable. But though Mr. Eton does not mean to recommend for imitation the other state of *perfect* government, as established in Russia, since

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unfortunately those who have once removed from it cannot go back again, yet he affirms, that the whole mass of the people is more happy in Russia than any which he has seen in three parts of the globe; " because there, the peasantry look upon the monarch as a divinity, styling him God of the earth, ZEMNOI BOG; ignorant of any government but a despotic sceptre, and of any condition but vassalage; *happily deprived of all means of evil information.* The soldiery, content with rye-biscuit and water; the nobility unable to offer the least opposition to the crown, depending on it for every honourable distinction of rank, civil or military, conferred, *but not inherited*, and which he who bestows can take away, while they who suffer must bless his name. There is no law but the express command of the monarch, who can debase the highest subject to the condition of a slave, or raise the lowest to the first dignity of the empire. But this autocratic sceptre exercises no despotism over the subject insulting to mankind. The Russian monarch is not, like the stupid Ottoman, seated on a throne involved in black clouds of ignorance, supported by cruelty on one

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hand, and by superstition on the other, at whose feet sits terror, and below terror, death*."

Such is Mr. Eton's picture of a real, not an imaginary, Utopia. Fortunately, he does not descend to the minutiæ of the blessings which we, equally happy Britons, enjoy: but let us endeavour to suppress envy, and while we rejoice in the consummate happiness of thirty millions of people, let us rejoice no less in Mr. Eton's assurance, "*that other nations, being once removed from such comforts, need never expect to enjoy them*†."

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 433.—This happy system of government was, in part, formerly enjoyed by Poland. "Là le paysan ne seme point pour lui, mais pour des seigneurs, à qui lui, son champ, et le travail de ses mains, appartiennent, et qui peuvent le vendre et l'égorger avec le bétail de la terre." (Hist. de Charles XII, liv. 2.)

† Two years after writing this eulogium on the Russian government, Mr. Eton wrote his postscript, though both were published together. The Empress Catherine was then dead; and we are now told, "that it is time the voice of truth shall be heard. It is only in foreign politics that she appears great: as to the internal government of the empire, it was left to the great officers, and they inordinately abused their power with impunity. Hence a most scandalous negligence, and corruption in the management of affairs in every department, and a general relaxation of government from St. Petersburgh to Kamschatka." (p. 450.) "She knew their conduct; but was deaf, and almost

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Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks.

As the Ottoman porte has long since abandoned all schemes of ambition, and religiously observes its treaties with the neighbouring states, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe must be founded only on some of the following ostensible reasons: either because they are not Christians; or, because the title by which they hold the dominion of their vast empire, though acknowledged by every potentate in the world, must now be submitted to judicial examination; or, because their government is despotic, and a great proportion of their subjects are deprived of the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, on account of their dissenting from the established creed*. Upon the same principles the invasion of a regenerating army may be

inaccessible, to complaint." (p. 451.) "The institution of general governments was a new burthen on the people of fifty millions of roubles, more than the ancient simple regulations, a sum, equal to three fourths of the whole revenue of the empire. The increase of vexation was still greater." (p. 451.) Utrum horum mavis, accipe.

* Busbequius indeed gives another reason, which, whether it be so openly avowed or not, will be the chief inducement for carrying into execution "*the vast and generous design*" of conquering Turkey. "Sed si nec laudis nec honesti pulchritudo animos torpentes inflammavit; certe utilitas, cujus hodie prima ratio ducitur, movere potuit, ut loca tam præclara, tantisque commoditatibus et opportunitatibus plena, barbaris erepta, *a nobis potius, quam ab aliis vellemus possideri.* (Epist. i, p. 43.)

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justified in any other country, in which the reins of government are as loosely held, and as unskilfully managed. I do not, indeed, believe, that any European power would publish a manifesto grounded on such puerile arguments. If the invasion of Turkey be commanded, the *ratio ultima regum* will silence argument, and enforce conviction on those who cannot immediately comprehend, that the conqueror is acting for their benefit. Besides, if the Turkish title to dominion in Europe be ill-founded, I do not see how the case is altered by the interposition of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Asia Minor formed, no less than Thrace, a part of the Roman empire, subjected to Rome by unprovoked invasion, by forced or forged concession, and all the arts to which the most civilized nations resort for the extension of territory. The reasoning against the Turkish power applies no less to Asia than to Europe. And must we recur to mouldy records, to ascertain in what corner of the world the Turks are to be consigned to peace and to oblivion*? Must they ram-

* "We wished," says Olivier (p. 192), "that the Turks might be forced to return to the wild and distant countries whence they issued."

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ble about in search of Eden, the first seat of the common ancestors of mankind? or retrace their steps to Selinginskoy, whence M. Bailly deduces the origin of human learning? or must the summary Roman method be resorted to, and peace be proclaimed only when their country is reduced to a solitude*?

Remoteness of amelioration.

The Chevalier D'Ohsson is of opinion, that a revolution of principle, and a change in the system of government, may easily be introduced into Turkey. It requires *only* a sultan free from prejudices, superior to the institutions of his country and the influence of education, assisted by a *mufti* animated with the same zeal for the public good, and seconded in his views by a vizir of prudence, courage and probity†. He ought to have known, that the revolution of many ages cannot be expected to produce such an assemblage of virtuous and vigorous minds, endowed with knowledge so diametrically opposite to the principles of their education. The example of Peter the Great, who for a time divested himself of the pomp and the

* "Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant." (Galgaci Orat. in Taciti Vit. Agric. c. 30.)

† Tableau Général, Discours préliminaire, p. xxxiii.

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power of sovereignty, in order to study the sciences and the art of government in countries more advanced in civilization than his own, is a singular phenomenon in the history of mankind; and a similar instance must not be expected to recur in every thousand years. Conjectures are not to be assumed as facts: neither can I presume to venture any opinion on the probability of either event; though I sincerely wish, that the punishment which Volney denounces against the empire of the Ottomans may be averted, either by their own prudence or by providence. According to this author, " the sultan, equally affected with the same ignorance as his people, will continue to vegetate in his palace; women and eunuchs will continue to appoint to offices and places; and governments will be publicly offered to sale. The *pashas* will pillage the subjects, and impoverish the provinces. The divan will follow its maxims of haughtiness and intolerance. The people will be instigated by fanaticism. The generals will carry on war without intelligence, and continue to lose battles, until this incoherent edifice of power, shaken to its basis, deprived of its support, and los-

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ing its equilibrium, shall fall, and astonish the world with another instance of mighty ruin *."

* Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs.

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CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, MORALS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE TURKS.

Physical constitutions and general habits.—Moral and religious education.—Popular belief and practice.—Priests.—Dervishes.—Emirs.—Pilgrimage to Mecca.—Predestination.—Invocation of saints.—Belief in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments.—Faith in omens and dreams.—Prejudice against pictures.—Punishment of apostacy.—Morality.—Proselytism.—Modes of proposing the faith to unbelievers.—Public charities.—Hospitality and alms.—Tenderness towards brute animals.—Character of the Turks;—their austerity,—irritability of temper,—intemperance in the use of wine—and opium,—covetousness,—ambition,—hypocrisy,—behaviour to strangers.—Virtues of the middle class.—Clothing of the Turks.—The warm bath.—Turkish luxuries and amusements;—conversation,—story-telling,—ombres chinoises,—dancers and gladiators,—athletic exercises.—General health.—The plague.—Mourning.—Interments and funeral monuments.

Physical constitutions and general habits.

THE Turks are of a grave and saturnine cast; they are in general well made and robust, patient of hunger and privations, capable of enduring the hardships of war, but not much inclined to habits of industry.

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The early hours and the regular lives of their mothers, their own habitual temperance and general freedom from violent passions, contribute to the preservation of their health, and the regularity of their features. Their way of living is simple and domestic: they prefer apathy and indolence to active enjoyments; but when moved by a powerful stimulus they sometimes indulge in pleasures to excess*.

* "Pauci exercendo agro vel aliis artibus tolerare vitam. Non enim arare terram aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes, et vulnera mereri. Pigrum et iners omnino videtur sudore acquirere quod possit sanguine parari." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir. p. 24.)

Denon, in his review of the different physiognomies of the inhabitants of Egypt, says, "Les Turcs ont des beautés plus graves avec des formes plus molles; leurs paupières épaisses laissent peu d'expression à leurs yeux: le nez gras, de belles bouches bien bordées, et de longues barbes touffues, un teint moins basané, un cou nourri, toute l'habitude du corps grave et lourde.—A parler en artiste on ne peut faire de leur beauté que la beauté d'un Turc." (Voyage, &c. t. i, p. 140.)

De Tott, in his preliminary discourse, supposes, that their fibres are relaxed and their bodies enfeebled by the heat of the climate. Can the climate of Thrace, the country which produced the gigantic Maximin, whose extraordinary strength and courage procured to him from the Roman armies the names of Ajax and Hercules, and even the imperial dignity, be supposed to relax the fibres of its inhabitants? What more convincing proof can be given of the natural strength of their constitution, than the instance, which De Tott relates, of a Turk drinking off two bottles of lavender water without intoxication or injury to himself? (See Memoirs, v. i, p. 3.)

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The moral character is fundamentally formed in infancy and childhood, not by precept, so much as by the absence of evil; for the Turks receive their early education under the care of their mothers and their female attendants, who are secluded from the promiscuous society of men, and removed from the contagion of vicious example. Their religion, which is simple, is taught them by their parents in the *harem*. The minds of the children, as in other countries, are moulded into the dogmas of a particular system; they are inflated with the idea of their own religious superiority; and they are taught to cherish the delusion, till they regard the religionists of other denominations with feelings of contempt or even of abhorrence. Moral and religious education.

The revelations of heaven, and the precepts of the prophet equally inculcate on the minds of Mussulmans this exalted idea of themselves, and this sentiment of disdain and aversion for those who are strangers to their faith. "The prayers of the infidel are not prayers, but wanderings," says the *koran*. "I withdraw my foot, and turn away my face," says Mahomet, "from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly." Nor is the uncharitableness of the sentiment extinguish- Popular belief and practice.

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ed, nor even weakened, by the death of its object. "Pray not for those whose death is eternal," is a precept of the Mahometan church, "and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet*." These commandments are precise and positive: they regulate the principles and the conduct of all classes of Mussulmans. It is vain to suppose their pernicious and uncharitable tendency counteracted by passages of scripture which breathe a milder spirit, or by the example of the prophet, who is known to have frequented the society of unbelievers. The Mahometan, who has risen above the prevailing prejudices of his religion and country, will alone appeal to these more tolerant precepts, in order to justify his conduct to his own heart, or to sanction it in the eyes of the public: but the vulgar mind, the great majority of the na-

* "It is not allowed unto the prophet, nor unto those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although they be of kin, after it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell. Neither did Abraham ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him: but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto God, he desisted from praying for him. Verily Abraham was pitiful and compassionate." Koran, chap. ix, ver. 115, 116. Sale's translation, v. i, p. 263. Maracci, p. 317.

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tion in every class of society, will always give a scrupulous preference to those parts of religion in which there is the greatest mixture of human imperfection; where savage intolerance furnishes an excuse for malice or for pride*.

* In the reign of Abdullah the Third, surnamed Meemounn, Bagdad was afflicted with a great drought. The caliph enjoined a public penance, and went himself in procession, at the head of his Mussulman subjects, to perform, in the neighbouring plains, the prayers prescribed by religion on such occasions. The ceremony was repeated on three succeeding days, but without effect. Heaven withheld its blessings, and rejected their petitions. The caliph then ordered the Jews and Christians to unite their supplications with those of the faithful; when lo! to the great scandal of Islamism, the rain fell in abundance, the earth was refreshed, but the caliph was astounded. He felt the affront even more than he acknowledged the favour, and his faith staggered with resentment. The *ulema* were assembled, and the caliph proposed his doubts; when a reverend doctor, no less learned than pious, arose, and enforcing his reasoning with the seductions of eloquence, calmed his disquietude, and brought him back into the stedfastness of truth. The Mahometan doctors attribute to inspiration the discourse which he pronounced. "What is there," said the holy man, "so extraordinary in this event, or so inimical to the religion of Mahomet. God," continued he, "so loves the Mussulmans his chosen people, their prayers and their petitions are so grateful to his ear that he even abstains from an immediate compliance with their requests, in order to compel them to renew their pious addresses: but the voice of infidels is harsh and dissonant: and if he grant their petitions, it is from disgust at their nauseous supplications, and to rid himself of their importunities." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 250.)

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The *namaz*, the prayer the most obligatory on Mussulmans, and the most pleasing to the Supreme Being, is chiefly a confession of the divine attributes, and of the nothingness of man; a solemn act of homage and gratitude to the eternal majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life: the only legitimate object of the *namaz* is to adore the Supreme Being, by praying for spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity*. Confident in the efficacy of belief and the virtue of prayer and legal purification, the Mussulmans feel no humility on account of the imperfections of human nature, and no repentance on account of actual transgressions†. The unity of the Supreme Being, and the divine mission of the prophet, are all that are insisted on as necessary to justification with God‡; and as these

* See Tableau Général, t. ii, p. 70—99.

" The prophet himself was so filled with divine love, when he performed his devotions, that his pure and holy heart was said to boil like water in a cauldron on a strong fire." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 76.)

† That is, no repentance considered as an act of the mind, for they have many penitential rites and ceremonies.

‡ " Nous croyons, nous confessons, nous attestons, qu'il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu seul, Dieu unique, lequel n'admet point d'association en lui; *croyance heureuse à laquelle est attachée la*

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imply no contradiction, and involve no mystery, the mind seems to comprehend both points without an effort, and to hold them with steadiness. Hence their conscences are never alarmed at the weakness or insufficiency of their faith; nor can they ever doubt of their acceptance with God. Their religion consoles and elevates them through life, and never disturbs their dying moments*.

béatitude céleste.——D'après ce principe, quiconque meurt dans la foi Musulmane est sûr de gagner le ciel. Est-il chargé de péchés, a-t-il transgressé la loi, a-t-il negligé le culte et la pratique des bonnes œuvres, il ne s'expose qu' à des peines toujours soumises à la volonté suprême du Créateur, qui est le maître de pardonner entièrement les plus grands crimes, comme de punir sévèrement les moindres fautes. Or le Musulman pécheur venant à être rangé dans la classe des enfans rebelles qui ont encouru les châtimens du père céleste, éprouve les tourmens qui lui sont destinés pour l'expiation de ses péchés. Ainsi purifié par le feu de l'enfer, il se trouve en état de paroître devant la face de son créateur, et de jouir dans la société des élus, du bonheur qui leur appartient." (Tab. Gen. t. i, p. 146. t. ii, p. 214.)

The heresy of the Kharidjys, against which the caliph Alî displayed a zeal which occasioned his death, consisted chiefly in the doctrine, that enormous sins counteract, and even annul, faith, which can only be meritorious when accompanied with the constant practice of morality.

* The death of the vizir Ahmed Pasha by order of Sultan Soliman, as related by Baron Busbeck (Epist. ii, p. 90), is a remarkable instance of Turkish fortitude. " Cum mane in divanum venisset, mox affuit qui ei regis nomine mortem indiceret, qui nuncius Achomatem haud multo magis commovit, ut erat-

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The general opinion among Mussulmans is, that the *koran* is uncreated, that it has existed from eternity, either in the divine essence, or in tablets of immense magnitude laid up in the throne of God, in which the complete and perpetual series of events is described. Mahomet himself was so convinced of its superiority to all human productions that he declares, in the seventeenth chapter, that if the whole race of men and dæmons were to unite in order to produce something similar to the excellences of the *koran*, they could never succeed. A difference of opinion on this subject has, however, in former ages, disturbed the peace of the Mahometan church, perverted the judgment even of the commanders of the faithful, and given rise to controversy and persecution. Hannbel, the founder of one of the orthodox sects, resisted the heresy of the caliphs, and

incredibili magnitudine animi, quam si nihil ad ipsum pertineret. Carnificem tantum munus suum exequi parantem, a se repulit, haud convenire existimans tánto honore modo usum pollutis illius manibus attrectari: cumque oculos ad eos qui adstabant circumtulisset, hominem honestum, sibi amicum, oravit, ut hoc sibi daret, ut ejus manibus necaretur, futurum id sibi magni et postremi muneris loco; quod ille, etiam atque etiam rogatus, non recusavit. Verum Achomates eum monuit, ne statim atque una vice astricto nervo se suffocaret, sed eo remisso, semel respirare pateretur; quo facto, nervum adduceret donec exanimaretur."

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was a martyr to the doctrine of the divinity of the *koran*. Mahomet the Third was present at his execution, and beheld with astonishment the constancy of his faith, and his insensibility to bodily pain during the infliction of the torture*.

Many of the learned Turks are said to refuse an implicit belief to all the miracles recorded in the *koran*†; but none of them so far contradict the national prejudices as publicly to withhold their assent‡. An *effendi*, skilled in mathematics, was asked, how he

* See Maracci, de alcorano, p. 38. Sale's koran, v. ii, p. 108. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 91.

" Tutissime illi incedebant, qui verbis Corani adherentes dicebant illum esse *positum*, vel *demissum*, et de creatione ejus silebant." (Reland, de religione Mohammedica, l. i, p. 18, n.)

The learned father Maracci (de alcorano, p. 41, 42) delivers it as his serious opinion, that the *koran* is the work of the devil. A discovery to which he was led by observing its resemblance with the style and manner of the same author in other more openly avowed performances.

† The minutiæ of Turkish belief are indeed as little reconcileable to common sense as the fables of ancient mythology. But as Voltaire justly observes, " les Turcs sensés rient de ces bêtises subtiles; les jeunes femmes n'y pensent pas; les vieilles dévotes y croient."

‡ Khodjea Behhay'ud-dinn Nakschibendy, the greatest saint of Turkistan, bequeathed to the faithful this maxim for the regulation of their conduct: " the exterior for the world, the interior for God." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 307.)

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could believe, that Mahomet broke the star of the moon, and caught half of it falling from heaven in his sleeve. He replied, that indeed it was not only not agreeable, but contrary, to the course of nature; but that, as the *koran* affirmed the truth of the miracle, he could not refuse it his assent; for, added he, God can do whatever he pleases*. They admit with equal facility the wonderful stories related by Christians, and on some occasions conform to the popular prejudices even of this despised sect; as in the instance given by Cantemir, of the lord of a village, who suffered no work to be done on St. Phocas's day, because formerly the saint, in revenge for the profanation of his festival, had burnt their standing corn†. The opi-

* The story is from Cantemir, who affirms (Ottoman history, p. 31, note 7), that he himself held this conversation with the *effendi*; and his general veracity is proved from the internal testimony of his writings. Cantemir, however, shows himself in this, as well as in other instances, to be but superficially acquainted with the *koran*, or at least to have read it under that prejudice of which a Greek can never divest himself. The story of the fraction of the moon is in the 54th chapter of the *koran*; and it is alluded to in the Tableau Général, t. i, p. 199, and t. iii, p. 295. See also Gibbon's Roman history, v. ix, p. 272.

† " Ils ne se livrent à aucun acte extérieur de dévotion envers Jésus Christ; mais aussi ne se permettent-ils jamais la moindre irrévérence, ni même le déplacement d'aucune relique Chrétienne.

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nion, that sanctity of life, independently of any particular religious persuasion, is sufficient for salvation, is silently embraced by a few liberal Turks, though it is condemned by the Mahometan church as a heresy*.

It has been observed, that, in all ages, those who are satiated with enjoyments are most inclined to become atheists, and that superstition is most apt to make those its prey who are oppressed with misery and want. But atheism, whether speculative or practical, is rare among the Turks; for when the doctrines of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul have been implanted in the mind by early education, they cannot be eradicated, unless, perhaps, by intense and perverted study and reflection, of which the Turks, from habitual indolence, are incapable†. The terrors of conscience, which

Ce seroit, disent-ils, attirer sur nous la colère et la malédiction de ce grand prophète." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 401.)

* See Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 126. Reland, de relig. Moham. l. ii, sec. 2.

† " Ceux même qui ne sont pas bien convaincus de l'apostolat du prophète, n'en sont pas moins attachés au dogme de l'unité de l'être suprême, ni moins pénétrés de son existence et de ses attributs infinis." (Tab. Gén t. iv, p. 464.)

I find myself at variance, both in my assertions and my reasoning, with Sir James Porter, who says (p. 39), "that it is

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generate in the vicious and profligate a wish to disbelieve, and at last, perhaps, a wavering consciousness, that they do disbelieve these doctrines, operate but little on the minds of men who are firmly convinced, that the divine favour is never withdrawn from those who are stedfast in their profession of faith, and constant in their practice of reli-

certain there are among the Turks many philosophical minds; —that they have the whole systems of the Aristotelian and Epicurean philosophy translated into their own language; and finding the latter, *which they call the Democritic*, to cut more effectually at the root, and to be more conformable to their present indolence, ease, and security, *they generally adopt it*; so that, perhaps without their knowing it, they are at once *perfect atheists* and professed Mahometans Superstition, and its train," continues Sir James Porter, "are a true basis for atheism; there is no medium; from the one extreme the mind is forcibly, though imperceptibly, driven to the other: *hence the Turks easily plunge into it.*"

Sir James Porter, who was so little acquainted with the Turkish language as to assert, "that it is composed of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabian tongues," cannot be supposed to have derived his information from the purest sources. It appears indeed to have been communicated to him by his dragomans (mere men of words, who are always prepared to answer every question, on every subject, rather than confess their ignorance, and who always accommodate their answers to the wishes of the inquirer), and as such, it may be dismissed without further remark. I am much disposed to doubt, that superstition necessarily leads to atheism; but it is unnecessary to discuss the merits of the position, as fanaticism, and not superstition, is the prominent feature of the Mahometan religion.

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gious rites. The belief and the performance of both are simple and easy, and not only may exist unconnected with virtue, but may even seem to expiate vicious conduct. Hence that tranquillity with respect to futurity which never abandons the Turk; and hence his neglect of palliatives for an evil, of which, so far as regards himself as a believer, he cannot consistently suspect the existence.

The popular religion of the Turks consists in belief, prayers, ablutions, and fastings at stated periods.

They are called to *namaz* (prayers) five times a day, by the *muezzinn* (chanter), who recites, from the highest tower of the *jami*, the hymn *ezann*, containing a confession of faith, in the following form. "God most high! I bear witness, that there is no God but God. I bear witness, that Mahomet is the prophet of God. Come to prayer: come to the asylum of salvation. Great God! There is no God but God."

The canonical hours for the morning prayer are from the first dawning of the day to sun-rise. This prayer was first performed by Adam on his expulsion from Paradise, when he returned thanks to God on being deliver-

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ed from the darkness of night, and again permitted to behold the approach of day. Towards the conclusion of the morning *ezann*, the *muezzinn* exhorts the faithful to be diligent in their devotions, by repeating, immediately after the words, come to the asylum of salvation, "prayer is preferable to sleep, prayer is preferable to sleep*." The *namaz* of noon, which may be said at any period of the interval between the meridian and the next succeeding *namaz*, was instituted by Abraham after his purposed sacrifice of his son Isaac. The afternoon *namaz*, in which the prophet Jonas first expressed his gratitude on being cast up from the belly of the whale, begins when the shadow projected on the dial is of twice the length of the gnomon, and it may be said as long as the sun continues above the horizon. The evening prayer is believed by Mahometans to have been instituted by Jesus Christ: the hours appointed for the performance of this *namaz*

* Enthymius accuses the Mahometans of worshipping the morning star under the name of *cobar*; "which," says Sir William Jones (who is merciless towards those who write on such subjects without possessing the Oriental languages), "is a palpable lie, arising from the ignorance of the writer, who heard the criers on the mosques calling the people to morning prayers by the words *allah acbar*." (Works, v. v, p 546.)

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are from the setting of the sun to the extinction of the twilight, when the night-prayer is performed, in imitation of Moses. On Friday, which is consecrated to public worship in commemoration of the creation of man, the Mahometans recite an additional *namaz*, and a prayer *salath' ul-djuma* between sunrising and noon.

In the *namaz* there are several prostrations, some of which must not on any account be omitted, being *farz*, or the immediate command of God: others may be omitted, though not without some degree of sin, being *sunneth*, institutions of the prophet, or rather an imitation of his practice*.

The Turks admit of purgatory, *araf*, in which the believer is to repeat the prayers which he omitted in his life, or neglected to say at the appointed times. Even martyrs, according to the most prevailing opinion of Mussulmans, are doomed to expiate in purgatory the sin of disrespect towards their parents†. They assert, that the sinful soul

* Busbequius misrepresents the devotions of the Turks, when he says, (Epist. iii, p. 178) "Sacerdote Mahumetis nomen pronunciante, pariter una omnes capita ad genua usque submittebant. Cum nomen Dei proferetur, in faciem venerabundi procidebant, et terram deosculabantur."

† See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 142.

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is greatly benefited by the prayers of the living, and still more so by the reading of the *koran*, whereby the angel Gabriel is assisted in guarding the soul from the devils, during the forty days of its hovering about the grave wherein the body is laid.

The *abdest*, or ablution of the hands, face, mouth, head, neck, arms, and feet, accompanied with suitable prayers, is performed by the Turks in a particular manner to distinguish them from the Persians, and is an indispensable preparation to the *namaz* or prayer*. *Ghoussoul* is the purification of the whole body, in cases which are specified in the religious code of the Mahometans. *Ghassl*, or simple washing, is ordered for

* "A *reïs effendi*, or secretary of state, reputed of great ability and learning, sent for a Christian *dragoman*, or interpreter, on very urgent business; he attended, and found the secretary deeply engaged in dispute with his son-in-law on the important question, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, should be washed, to render themselves truly acceptable to God." (Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 9.) Such is Sir James Porter's story, who boasts of his superior means of obtaining information, and yet we see fell into the error of believing a dragoman. Now the mode of performing all the ablutions is so minutely described, and in several instances with that naïveté which modern European manners will scarcely tolerate, that no doubt or dispute can possibly arise between Mussulmans on this subject.

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removing any visible or substantial impurity, from the clothes or the person, of a nature to invalidate or annul the virtue of prayer.

The fast of the month of *ramazan* consists in abstaining from food or drink, or any gratification of the senses, during the whole time of the sun's continuance above the horizon.

The immediate ministers of religion make no part of the body of *ulema*. In the larger mosques there are *sheïks*, or preachers; *kiatibs*, readers or deacons, who, in imitation of the prophet and caliphs, and in the name and under the sacerdotal authority of the sultan, discharge the functions of the *imameth* or high priesthood; *imams*, who recite the *namaz;* and *muezzinns*, who summon the people to prayers; besides *cayyims* or sextons. In villages, or small parishes, the duties of the whole are performed by the *imam*, who is sometimes also the *hogia*, or schoolmaster for the children: but he owes this appointment to his being the only person possessing sufficient leisure or the necessary qualifications. Priests.

The priests in their habits of life are not distinguished from other citizens; they live in the same society and engage in the same

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pursuits*: they sacrifice no comforts, and are compelled to no acts of self-denial: their influence on society is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or on their gravity and moral conduct. They are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and they are by no means considered as the directors of conscience. They merely chant aloud the church service, and perform offices, which the master of a family or the oldest person in company, as frequently, and as consistently, performs as themselves. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the priesthood: all the practices of their religion can be, and are, performed without the interference of the priests†.

* When Baron de Tott was fortifying the Dardanelles, the *pasha* strongly recommended to his notice a *muezzinn*, or crier of a mosque, as a man who had a surprising genius for throwing bombs, and to whom he intended to give the post of *first bombardier*. (Memoirs, v. ii, p. 53.)

† "On entretient dans les hôtels publics, dans les grandes maisons, des *imams* et des *muezzinns* particuliers, à titre de chapelains ou d'aumôniers. Ces *muezzinns* annoncent l'*ezann* sur le haut de l'escalier ou vers la porte de la pièce destinée à la prière, se mettent ensuite dans une des lignes de l'assemblée, où ils récitent la seconde annonce, *ikameth*; après quoi l'*imam*, placé comme dans

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The institution of the different orders of *dervishes* is foreign to the genuine spirit of the Mahometan religion. Some of the Ottoman ministers have even attempted their suppression; but the vulgar, who certainly consider their ceremonies to possess the force of incantation, submit to their caprices, and court their benediction by respect and liberality. Dervishes.

I apply the epithet vulgar to the character of the mind, the constituent part of the man, rather than to the rank in life; for Selim the First, the conqueror of Egypt, was himself no less a slave to this absurd superstition than the meanest of his subjects. When he had made himself master of Syria, his greatest anxiety was to seek out, and heap presents and benefits on, the *sheïks* and *dervishes*, in hopes of being aided in his future expeditions by their blessings and prayers. His devotion led him to visit an anchorite,

les temples à la tête du corps, commence le *namaz*. Ces ministres particuliers n'ont rien de commun avec les ministres publics voués au service des mosquées. *Ce sont de simples citoyens, nommés par les chefs des familles, sous le nom et l'autorité desquels ils présidents à ce religieux exercice, comme ayant eux-mêmes le droit de s'en acquitter en personne.* Cette prérogative est commune à tout Musulman dans les assemblées particulières." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 175.)

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who dwelt in a corner of the mosque of Damascus. The sultan bowed himself down before the saint, and stood in the humblest attitude, not daring to break silence: the pious solitary, on the other hand, held his peace from respect for the monarch. After a long pause an officer of the court broke the charm, and relieved them both from this ridiculous state of suspense: but Selim, before he dared to solicit the prayers of the *sheïk* for the prosperity of the Ottoman arms, severely rebuked the favourite for his unholy impatience *.

The word *dervish*, derived from the Persian and signifying the threshold of a door, the spirit of humility, has been improperly translated *monk*, since some of the orders are allowed to marry, and none profess celibacy. In the Ottoman empire there are thirty-two distinct orders. Hagi Bektash, a *sheïk* of distinguished piety, founded among the Turks the order which still bears his

* See Tableau Général, t. i, p. 312. Gibbon finds this superstitious reverence for saints and astrologers so little reconcileable with the possession of a sound understanding on matters of mere human concern that, notwithstanding the many examples which the histories of Europe as well as Asia furnish of their actual union in the same person, he supposes it to be affected as an instrument of policy. (See vol. xii, p. 43.)

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name: the institution and the memory of the saint are in high repute in Turkey; from their connexion with the military order of the janizaries, who were consecrated and named by Hagi Bektash. Eight *dervishes* of this order are lodged and maintained in the barracks at Constantinople: their office is to offer up prayers every night and morning for the prosperity of the empire and the success of its arms. In public ceremonies they march on foot before the horse of the *janizar aga*, the chief of them constantly repeating with a loud voice *kerim ullah*, (merciful God), to which the others reply in chorus by the word *hou*, one of the ninety-nine names, or attributes, of God, an acknowledgment of his eternal existence, of the same signification as Jehovah among the Hebrews*. The *mevlevi* turn round in their dances for a long continuance†, and cultivate vocal and in-

* See Reland, de relig. Moham. l. ii, p. 156. See in Toderini (t. i, p. 20) a list of those names, which compose the *tesbih*, or Mussulman rosary.

† Volney asserts, that "the sacred dances of the *dervishes* are an imitation of the movements of the stars." (See Voyages en Syrie, et en Egypte, t. ii, p. 289, note.) The Turks, however, certainly do not think so, or they would be guilty of idolatry in being spectators of them. The dances of the *dervishes* more aptly represent the confusion of an enthusiast's ideas, than

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strumental music: their *neïh* (a pipe made of an Indian reed) is exceedingly sweet. The *cadri*, or howling *dervishes*, repeat the name of God so long, and with such vehemence, that at last they fall down, exhausted with fatigue and foaming at the mouth. The novitiate of these fellows is degrading and painful. Uveïs, the founder of a sect in the first century of the hegira, required of his followers to draw all their teeth, in honour of the prophet, who lost two of his teeth at the battle of Ohud*. So severe a probation left no room for hypocrisy, and the weakness of human nature gradually operated the extinction of this sect; but the institutions of the *dervishes* are upheld and perpetuated by the generally received opinion, that there exists continually among Mussulmans the legion of three hundred and fifty-six saints, which is composed of the members of these different fraternities, and which constitutes, in an invisible manner, that spiritual and celestial order which is consecrated under the august name of *ghavs alem*, refuge of the

the order of the heavenly bodies, which indeed may, with no greater impropriety, be considered as the prototype of our national hornpipe.

* Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 620.

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world. Enthusiastic and pious Mahometans apprehend, that the abolition of the order of *dervishes* would draw down upon the empire and the faithful the curses of this holy association; and the boldest free-thinkers consider this mixture of austerity and immorality, of devotion and profaneness, as a mystery which the Mussulman should adore in silence.

The *emirs* derive their descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet: they are sometimes called *evladi resul allah*, sons of the prophet of God, and in their pilgrimage to his shrine at Medina, they invoke him by the name of their ancestor. They are dispersed all over the empire, through every rank in society, and are distinguished by wearing a green turban. Cantemir relates, that "a circumstance *hardly credible, but however true*, is observed in this family. The *emirs* before their fortieth year are men of the greatest gravity, learning, and wisdom; but after that, if they are not quite fools, yet they discover some sign of levity and stupidity*." Our countryman Sandys too asserts, "that there lives not a race of

Emirs.

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 94, note 50.

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ill-favoureder people, branded, perhaps by God, for the sinne of their seducing ancestor, and their own wicked assuming of hereditary holiness*." The Turks, on the contrary, believe, that a true *emir* can have no corporal defect nor blemish, as the whole race is constantly favoured with the grace and protection of the prophet. I am compelled, however, to declare, that the *emirs* differ neither in intellects nor features, nor any other mark of distinction, except their head-dress, from their fellow-citizens: the miracle would therefore be contradicted by the observation of the present day, and to admit its authenticity at any period, we are reduced to the dilemma of allowing a still greater miracle, the undeviating fidelity of all the mistresses of this ill-favoured race since the days of the incense-breathing Fatima†.

* Sandys's Travels, p. 64.

† "Le prophète au retour de ses expéditions guerrières ne manquoit jamais de donner à Fathima, sa fille, des marques de sa tendresse, et de lui baiser le front, en disant chaque fois *qu'il sentoit en elle l'odeur du paradis.*" (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 264.) "Accepimus per traditionem a patribus nostris" (says an Arabian author of the life of Mahomet, quoted by Marracci, in vita et rebus gestis a Mahumeto, p. 31), "legatum Dei Mahumetum consuevisse multiplicare oscula in ore Phatemæ *(filiæ suæ)*, dominæ mulierum omnium sæculorum: ita ut dixerit ei Aisa

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The *hadj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is the principal act of devotion, and is accounted so meritorious as to cancel, and obtain a remission of, even the greatest sins. All Mussulmans, both male and female, of free condition, having attained the age of majority, and being in health both of body and mind, are commanded by the *koran* to undertake this journey once in their lives, and that at a time when their substance is such that half of it will suffice for the expense of the pilgrimage, and the other half is to be left behind for an honest subsistence at their return. The *koran* declares, that the performance of the pilgrimage to the temple of the Lord is a duty imposed on all Mussulmans. "Those who neglect it hurt themselves alone, for the defection of the universe can- Pilgrimage to Mecca.

(uxor ejus, zelotypia tacta): O legate Dei, ego video te valde frequenter osculari os Phatemæ, et intrudere linguam tuam in buccam ejus. Respondit ille: ita est, O Aisa; nam postquam nocturno tempore translatus fui in cœlum, introduxit me Gabriel, cui sit pax, in Paradisum, et adduxit me ad arborem *Tuba* et præbuit mihi unum ex pomis ejus, et comedi illud, et conversum est in sperma in lumbis meis. Cum autem descendissem in terram, concubui cum Chadige, quæ concepit Phatemam. Quotiescumque ergo subit mihi desiderium Paradisi, osculor illam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus, et sentio ex ea auram Paradisi, et odorem arboris *Tuba*, qui est mixtus ex terreno et cœlesti."

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not diminish the happiness of the Self-existent." Mahomet enforces this duty on his followers by pronouncing, that those who die in the wilful neglect of it are no less liable to perdition than Jews and Christians; and the caliph Omar was so firmly persuaded of its indispensable necessity that he not only refused the name of Mussulmans to those who neglected to perform their pilgrimage, but even declared, that if the wretches were known to him, he would burn their property, their houses, and their persons, as a punishment for their impiety. There are, however, certain impediments which are acknowledged to be legitimate: the slave, the minor, the infirm, the insane, and the poor, are justified before God for the non-performance of this religious duty. Nor is the believer compelled to expose himself to imminent danger; nor the woman allowed to undertake the journey, except under the guardianship of her husband or near relation, who may defend her honour and her person from insult or attack *.

* Mr. Eton complains, that the Turks do not travel. He says (p. 196), "this great source of expansion and improvement to the mind is entirely checked by the arrogant spirit of their religion." But does not their religion, on the contrary, by

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The black stone, the chief object of the pilgrimage to Mecca, is called by the prophet *a ruby of paradise.* "Verily," says he, "it shall be called upon at the last day; it shall see; it shall speak, and bear witness of those who shall have touched it in truth and sincerity of heart." This stone is the pledge of that covenant which was entered into between the great creator, and all the orders of spiritual existence. "Am not I your God?" said the Supreme Being at the moment of the creation, and all replied, "yes, thou art." This act of universal faith was deposited in the centre of the stone; and at the last judgment its testimony will confound those who have slighted, or have corrupted the purity of their original belief.

Thus, say the Mahometan doctors, it is demonstrated, that Islamism is congenial to the nature of man; and human reason, unsubdued by human sophistry, must yield immediate assent to the divinity of its doctrines. But happy, in the opinion of the faithful, are those who have confirmed by the devout kisses of their lips, their strict ad-

enjoining the pilgrimage to Mecca, promote travelling, and bring Mahometans, even from India and the extremities of Africa, to meet in one great assembly in that city?

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herence to the first and most holy of their engagements. They are honoured, during the remainder of their lives, with the veneration of their fellow-citizens; they are distinguished by the appellation of *hagi*; and their beards, consecrated by their devotion, are carefully nourished in their full growth, visible tokens of their obedience to the precepts, and respect for the example, of the prophet. These advantages, which the frigid devotion of Europeans is almost incapable of appreciating, can be conceived only when we estimate the exertions employed to obtain them; when we consider the nature and extent of the country which the pilgrims are obliged to traverse, the sufferings and privations which they must undergo in their long and terrible journies, and the mental energies which must be excited in order to rouse oriental indolence to such a perilous and fatiguing enterprise. The African pilgrims returned through Cairo while the French were in possession of the country, worn to the bones with hunger and misery, so that one could with difficulty be distinguished from the other; as meagre as the deserts were arid, as extenuated as prisoners forgotten in their dungeons*.

* See Denon, voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, t. i, p. 144.

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Every person is believed to bear on his forehead, in characters not legible indeed by man, but inscribed by the finger of God, the accidents of his life, and the appointed time of his death; and nothing, good or evil, can happen contrary to the divine decree. Hence their common sayings, such as, *acajak can damarda dourmaz*, "the blood predestined to flow will not remain in the artery." Yet they allow a free-will in man, in order that infidels may be left without excuse at the last judgment. "All," they say, "may be saved who will; but no man is saved, whom God has not destined to salvation*." Predestination.

* "Le Musulman qui voit sa fortune réduite en cendres ou enlevée par une main avide, l'individu frappé de la contagion, le marin qui périt au pied d'un rocher par l'inhabileté du pilote, le malade victime de l'ignorance d'un empirique, le sujet enfin qui se voit écrasé sous le poids d'une autorité arbitraire, tous se soumettent à leur malheuréux sort avec une égale résignation. Le moindre murmure est taxé d'irréligion, d'attentat, de doute criminelle contre les décrets célestes. Ils regardent leur meurtrier, l'auteur de leur infortune, comme un instrument entre les mains de la Providence, qui exerce sur eux l'arrêt irrévocable de leur destinée, arrêt, disent-ils, écrit sur leur front dès avant leur naissance, et dont l'événement est par-là même au dessus de toute sagesse et de toute prévoyance humaine. Ce fatalisme est consacré sous le nom de *takdir* ou *kissmeth*; dans tous les événemens de la vie, heureux ou malheureux, ces mots sont toujours dans la bouche des Musulmans de toutes les ..sses et de toutes les conditions." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 169.)

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The doctrine of fatalism, which is sufficiently powerful, when combined with their natural indolence, to prevent their taking the necessary precautions for guarding against the infection of the plague, is however too weak to withstand actual and imminent danger. They expose themselves to contagion with indifference; but have precipitated themselves into impassable torrents, and even into the sea, to avoid the fire or the bayonet of their enemies.

It is difficult to ascertain their precise opinion of this fatality. They say it overrules human purposes, and seem to think, that it blindly follows the direction which it has received, overturning or disregarding circumstances, which in the natural order of

"Que le musulman essuye une grande perte; qu'il soit dépouillé, ruiné, il dit tranquillement: C'étoit écrit, et avec ce mot il passe sans murmure de l'opulence à la misère: qu'il soit au lit de la mort, rien n'altère sa sécurité; il fait son ablution, sa prière; il a confiance en Dieu et au prophète; il dit avec calme à son fils: Tourne-moi la tête vers la Mekke, et il meurt en paix." (Volney, voyages en Syrie et en Egypte, t. ii, p. 331.)

"Though the Mahometan law obliges them not to abandon the city, nor their houses, nor to avoid the conversation of men infected with the pestilence where their business or calling employs them, yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them." (Rycaut, p. 116.)

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events should have diverted its course; and that it sometimes adheres so closely to the letter of the sentence which it is commissioned to execute, as to mistake the real spirit and intent. My house was burnt down; and a Turk of my acquaintance made me a visit of condolence. "A misfortune," said he, "was predestined to you. Thank God. It was directed against your head; but it has fallen only on your property." A *pasha*, to whom mischief seemed to be portended, has been removed from his office, in order that the threatened calamity might affect only himself, and be averted from the public*.

The doctrine of predestination obtained much credit as the nurse of heroism, while success was its concomitant in the Ottoman armies, and it was considered as being peculiarly calculated to inspire and perpetuate military ardour. It is indeed true, that, in countries where it prevails, it must be a powerful engine in the hands of government for raising or recruiting armies, as it supplies unanswerable arguments to call men

* "Constat aliquando amotos ab officio bassas propter equi lapsum, ac si magni alicujus infortunii id portentum esset, quod abrogatione officii a publica calamitate in caput privatum averruncaretur." (Busbeq, Epist. i, p. 54.)

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into the field; but I doubt its efficacy to convince the coward, that he is not more exposed to danger or death in the front of battle than in camp or in quarters. In the heat of action, while flushed with success, their situation alone is fully sufficient to inspire soldiers with all the necessary impetuosity. If predestination could urge motives for unceasing exertion, when they are dejected by misfortune and dispirited by unconquerable resistance, the national prejudice would indeed be most valuable. But, on the contrary, the certainty of dying, the firm persuasion, that we are arrived at the term of life, so far from preparing us for resisting death, only relaxes our endeavours to protract our existence. Religion, indeed, teaches, that the sentence inscribed on men's foreheads is illegible to themselves and to their fellow-mortals; but, in the moment of despondency, all pretend to decypher it. The janizaries, after three unsuccessful attacks, are persuaded, that they are fighting against providence, and cannot legally be compelled to attempt a fourth*. The timid sultan, alarmed at the progress and insolence of rebellion, imagines, that he hears the de-

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 310, note 55.

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cree of God in the voice of popular tumult: and a treacherous courtier, who has succeeded in effecting the ruin of a colleague, produces the order of the sovereign for his death as the appointment of divine providence, which a Mussulman, instead of querulously resisting, should patiently adore.

Invocation of saints.

The Turks acknowledge it to be meritorious and becoming to reverence all departed saints, and religiously visit their monuments: but they are chiefly commanded by their law to invoke the names of Mahomet and the four caliphs his immediate successors, and to write them in neat characters on tablets, which they hang up in the mosques and other buildings. The blessings of paradise they suppose to be in common, and therefore assign no particular station to their saints; and they deny to all, except Mahomet himself, any compassion for human miseries, as thinking it would be a hindrance to the perfect felicity at which they are arrived*:

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 81, note 7. p. 124, note 22. Such indeed appears to be the popular opinion: and the Mahometan pronounces neither the election nor the reprobation of any mortal, except those whom the prophet himself has declared to be in the enjoyment of beatitude. These are ten persons, who were co-operators with the prophet, his apostles or his scribes, and chiefly the four caliphs, his immediate successors.

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yet the weak and the vulgar admire in living idiots an enthusiastic devotion, an insensibility to the enjoyments and conveniences of life, and the voluntary adoption of evil. After the decease of these imaginary favourites of heaven, they hang about their tombs their votive offerings for the cure of diseases, and the removing of sterility and impotence*.

On them, indeed, he has conferred a weight of glory, sufficient to make the stoutest of them tremble. " Ils ont pour partage les régions les plus élevées et les plus enchantées du ciel. La félicité, dont ils jouissent dans ce séjour ravissant, est au dessus de l'intelligence humaine. L'Eternel a destiné à chacun d'eux *soixante-dix pavillons superbes*, tous éclatans d'or et de pierreries : *chacun* de ces pavillons immenses est garni de *sept cents lits* éblouissans, et *chaque lit* est entouré de *sept cents hourys* ou vierges célestes." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 318.)

* Locke, in his essay concerning human understanding (book i, ch. 3, § 9), has quoted from the voyage of Baumgarten, in the language in which it was published, a passage concerning the saints who are canonized among the Turks, similar to the following story from Leunclavius, which Mr. Eton has presented to his readers in all the nudity of the English idiom; and yet, I must confess, I doubt the accuracy of the information. The indecencies of the Egyptian saints (and those sufficiently disgusting) are indeed mentioned by modern travellers, but it would require undeniable testimony to reconcile me to the belief, that such depravity is not only tolerated but approved. " Veniebant ad nos Constantinopolim ex Ægypto, Sebastianus ab Haunsperg, et Johannes a Salagasto, viri nobiles. Horum alter Salagastius nobis narrabat, Alexandriæ, quum istic ipse degeret, hujusmodi quemdam sanctum virum opinione Mahumetanorum, quum præ foribus balnei muliebris stans exeuntem e balneo fœminam quandam attentius intuitus esset, in eam furore

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They have confidence in amulets and charms for preventing or delivering from mischief; and as they sometimes charitably recommend the use of them to strangers, they must suppose their virtue to operate independent of belief in Islamism*.

Belief in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments.

quasi quodam correptum involasse, ac protinus humi prostratam, nec admodum fortasse repugnantem, in oculis omnium compressisse. Maritum eo facto se beatum duxisse, quod vir sanctus, impulsu divino, præ aliis cum uxore sua coïvisset." It must be recollected, that the manners of the Orientals are less changeable than those of the European nations, so that what was true in the time of Leunclavius would still be found to exist with little or no modification: now Denon, who had the best opportunities of observing the manners of the Egyptians, and who certainly would not have passed over so striking a peculiarity, gives us however reason to suspect, from his silence on the subject, that both Locke and Leunclavius have been misled by inaccurate or exaggerated information. "The greatest part of the santons," says Denon, "pass their lives crouched in the angle of a wall, incessantly repeating the word *allah*, and receiving, without returning thanks, the means of subsistence. Others beat themselves on the head with stones: others again only tell their beads and sing hymns; while the most fanatic remain motionless, *naked without being indecent*, exposed to the violent rays of the sun without showing any feeling of uneasiness, and receiving charity without expressing satisfaction." (See voyage, &c. t. i, p. 231. t. iii, p. 45.)

* Among the ignorant inhabitants of Turkey there seems to be a community of the advantages of talismans. I have known a Jew apply a Venetian sequin to an obstinate ulcer; a remedy which had been recommended to him by a Greek Christian out of respect for the figures of the Virgin and the Infant.

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That virtue may be communicated to inanimate matter from its contact with the persons of saints, or from having been used for the purposes of religion, has been an opinion universally received among Christians and Turks. The *sanjac sherif*, or standard of Mahomet, which no unbeliever should look upon with impunity, is considered as the palladium of the empire. In time of peace it is deposited in a kind of chapel within the seraglio, and religiously guarded, together with the other relics of the prophet. When the sultan in person, or the grand vizir, leads the armies against the enemies of the faith, the *sanjac sherif* is taken out of its shrine with great ceremony and many prayers, and carried to the camp, where a superb tent is erected for its reception, and forty officers, chosen from the *capigis*, or chamberlains of the palace, are appointed to carry it by turns. It is placed under the protection of all the possessors of military fiefs, and more especially confided to the care of four regiments, which derive their name from the performance of this service. The whole Mussulman population poured out from the city to salute it, on its safe return from the late Russian war. I was deterred from going

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myself on account of the danger which had attended some Christian spectators on a former occasion; but I was desirous of learning from a Turk, with whom I was acquainted, what this famous standard was. He evaded my question by assuring me, that he was seized with a tremor when he beheld it, so as not to be able to gaze stedfastly upon it; and was displeased with my rallying him on the firmer nerves of the enemies of the Mussulman faith*. The veil which is annually sent by the sultan for covering the *caaba* of Mecca, becomes intrinsically holy, and is distributed over the empire as the most valuable gift. A slip of it is sewed into the pall which is furnished from the mosques at funerals. Pieces of it are worn by the faithful, as one of the means of grace and an assurance of the divine protection; and these perishable materials accompany their fond possessors to the grave, as tokens of undeviating attachment to Islamism.

The belief of the baneful effects of the evil eye and of envious commendation, is preva-

* I confess I do not feel less respect for this sacred standard from knowing, that, in its original destination, it served as the curtain of the chamber-door of Aïsché, the favourite wife of the uxorious Mahomet. (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 379.)

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lent among all ranks and sects of people; and as it has reigned from remote antiquity in the countries which the Ottomans possess, they may be supposed rather to have adopted than introduced it. Virgil's shepherd attributes to the malicious glances of an enemy the diseased appearance of his flock; and Pliny relates, that the Thessalian sorcerers destroyed whole harvests by speaking well of them. In Turkey, the barge of state of the sultan, as well as the pile of firewood in the court-yard of a public bath, is preserved from accident by a head of garlick. Every object, which can possibly attract attention or excite jealousy, is secured by some counteracting influence. The eye of the malicious observer is seduced into benediction by the sacred exclamation *masch-allah*, written in conspicuous characters, and placed the most obviously to view in the front of a house. The horse carries his rider with safety among the envious populace, while a string of blue beads dangles on his chest*.

* "Omnibus (pullis equinis) cervicem ambit, velati monile, fascia amuletis plena, adversus fascinium quod præcipue metuitur." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 110.) A French writer, pleasantly enough, compares these talismans to the conductors placed on buildings in order to carry off lightning.

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But the anxious mother doubts even the effect of the talisman, and spits in her infant's face, that it may escape unhurt from the admiration of the childless, or the jealousy of less happy parents*.

Faith in omens and dreams.

Islamism, which operated such astonishing revolutions in the moral and political state of society, was nevertheless forced to bend under the influence of the irrational opinions which had immemorially prevailed among the nations of Arabia; and Mahomet, the destroyer of idolatry, fulminated in vain against the illusions of magic, and dreams,

* It is an opinion in Turkey (more common, indeed, among the Greek islanders), that a rival, by repeating certain mystical words, or performing certain magical ceremonies, at the moment of the celebration of marriage, can disappoint the wishes of the parties by suspending the exercise of virility.

"Ami lecteur, vous avez quelquefois
Ouï conter qu'on nouait l'aiguillette.
C'est une étrange et terrible recette."

Such opinions have been adduced in all countries, in order to account for the temporary embarrassment, sometimes occasioned by the novelty of situation. I knew an instance of a young and vigorous Turk, who, imputing the insipidity of his honeymoon to the influence of sorcery, crossed the Bosphorus, in order to consult a *dervish*, renowned for his skill in baffling the arts of the devil. Unfortunately the success of the experiment could never be known. A sudden squall of wind overset the boat, within sight of his native village, and left his unfortunate widow to bewail her virginity.

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and augury. The Turks are superstitious observers of omens, and think, that the pure soul of a Mussulman foresees, and is admonished of, future events in his dreams*. They carefully notice the first expressions, or the first action, of their new sultan on his accession to the throne, and thence predict his character and future government. Murad the Third, having heard of his father's death, set out from Magnesia, the capital of the province which he governed, and arrived in the night at the seraglio. The officers of the court and the ministers of state did homage before his throne, and listened with anxiety to the first words which he might utter. "I am hungry," said the sultan, "let me have something to eat." Every one was immediately seized with horror and dismay, and foresaw, at the very commencement of so inauspicious a reign, the famines, the wars, and civil dissentions, which disturbed and desolated the empire during the whole period of its continuance.

* The same opinion appears to be equally prevalent among the Persians. The historian of the life of Nader Shah (book i, chap. 13) relates a dream of his Highness, when his soul, delivered from the incumbrance of the body, received in the region of sleep illuminations of the divinity, which showed on the mirror of the vision the face of truth.

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The Persians paint whole pictures, and commonly insert them in their historical writings. But the Turks, in general, consider it unlawful to paint, though not to describe in words, any other parts of the human body than the hands and feet of Mahomet, the body of the prophet being always concealed by the wings of legions of angels; and they firmly believe, that angels can enter no house where there are portraits of men*. The Mussulman, in the performance of the *namaz*, is ordered to throw off any parts of his dress which are made of stuffs on which are represented the figures of men or other animals, and to turn his face, during his devotions, from the sight of portraits or

Prejudice against pictures.

* "The Mahometan religion," says Mr. Eton, "has no medium of communication with the arts, and is fundamentally gloomy." (p. 194, 196.) If Mr. Eton means the arts of painting and statuary, he is right; for they are banished from the mosque as rigorously as from the synagogues of the Jews, or the churches of several denominations of Christians. But, as the subjects, on which these arts are generally exercised in the churches of the Christians who admit the use of them, are tortures and death, it may be apprehended, that they throw somewhat of gloom, even upon our holy religion. Architecture and the ornamental arts are consecrated as much to Islamism as to Christianity. But such is the connexion between the arts that all become vitiated in practice from the partial exclusion of any one of them.

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pictures, unless they describe only the heads of irrational animals, or pieces of inanimate nature; but foreign coin, though bearing the impression of human figures, does not invalidate their prayers, and may be carried about them even during their journey to the holy city of Mecca. The standards of many of the companies of janizaries, the ships of war, and even the coffee-houses and shops of tradesmen, are decorated with rude and grotesque representations of birds and quadrupeds, and the barge of the sultan supports a golden eagle on its prow*. We have the authority of Prince Cantemir and the Chevalier d'Ohsson for the existence of a regular series of the portraits of all the Ottoman sovereigns in the seraglio; and I have seen a pocket-book belonging to the present sultan, containing engraved portraits of the most distinguished characters of our own time. It was sent to Sir Sidney Smith, that

* "Nous citerons encore l'usage constant et général des ombres chinoises, et le débit continuel, quoique toujours clandestin, de figures d'hommes et de femmes dessinées sur du papier. Les obscénités qu'elles représentent sont tellement du goût de la nation, que ceux qui paroissent avoir le plus de répugnance pour les productions du pinceau, ne se font pas scrupule de remplir leurs porte-feuilles de ces dessins scandaleux." (Tab. Gén, t. iv, p. 440.)

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he might communicate some historical anecdotes of Admiral Lord Nelson; and I remarked among the prints the likenesses of Lewis the Sixteenth, Catherine the Second, and Marshal Suwarow.

Punishment of apostacy.

The Turks are not only encouraged to persevere in the profession of the orthodox faith by civil distinctions and the assurance of paradise, but are deterred from apostacy by the temporal punishments denounced against it. Those who abjure the Mahometan faith are stigmatized by the law with the appellation of *murtedds*, and to them no clemency can be shown: they cannot sink into the class of *zimmys* or tributary subjects, and redeem their fault by the payment of the capitation-tax. Nothing can deliver them from death but the abjuration of their errors, and a renewal of their faith in the doctrines of Islamism. "If the rites of the established religion are performed, and a convenient conformity observed, the Turks inquire no further about it," and an inclination to change is indeed so rarely avowed as almost to authorize the assertion, that "executions, tortures, pains, and penalties, inflicted on account of religion, are never

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heard of among them."* The loss of the apostate's head has, however, in some rare instances, been the penalty of preferring the gospel to the *koran*†.

Morality. Lessons of morality are communicated to the Turkish youth in proverbs and parables; a mode of instruction than which nothing can be conceived more equivocal and injudicious. An infinite number of sayings have obtained credit and authority among the Turks; and though abstractedly good, a colour may be given, under their sanction, to actions of the most perverse tendency. The conciseness of a proverb occasions the wrong application of it more easily to escape detection: it dazzles by the neatness of its expression; and the opponent, perplexed and unable to reply, finds himself outwitted, and imagines himself to be convinced‡. The mischief is greater when the quotation is from scripture, whose authority is too sacred to be

* Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 33.

† See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 181.—Tableau Général, t. i, p. 153.—See also (in t. iii, p. 175) the history of the punishment of the first apostate Abd'ullah ibn-Hélal by order of Mahomet himself.

‡ I might quote the example of Sancho Pança, to show of how little use is this concentrated wisdom of ages in the conduct of common life.

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questioned; and few suspect, that a sentence may bear a contrary signification when separated from the context. The Turkish morality, however, though imperfect and limited, is not fundamentally perverted, except with respect to unbelievers.

Proselytism.

Of all good works, zeal for the propagation of the faith seems to be esteemed the most meritorious. No requiem is necessary for the souls of men slain in war, for they have conquered paradise by martyrdom. Their funeral rites are different from those of men deceased according to the order of nature: they require neither ablution nor burying sheet: the blood with which they are covered stands in the stead of legal purifications. "Wash not their bodies," says the prophet, "every wound which they bear will smell sweeter than musk in the day of judgment."

"If a man's feet have been sprinkled with dust in the path of the Lord, him will God preserve from hell-fire," is one of the *hadiss* or oracular sayings of the prophet. Bajazet the Second, understanding the passage in its literal sense, carefully collected the dust which had adhered to his clothes during his military expeditions, and in his last moments

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conjured the by-standers to make a brick of it, and place it in his coffin under his right arm, instead of a cushion*.

Modes of proposing the faith to unbelievers.

If to the duty of extending Mahometanism were added the vanity of making converts, and if the Turks had possessed the same spirit of loquacity and argumentation as the Greeks, the situation of those who survived the independence of their empire would have been deplorable indeed. In the ordinary commerce of life, every question among the Greeks, during their domestic discussions of the subtleties of their faith, was answered by an exposition of some mysterious and intricate doctrine†. But how much more would such impertinence, on the part of the Turks, have been aggravated by the political superiority of the teacher to his scholar! Fortunately, the contemplation of his own excellence gives the Mahometan only the sentiment of pride: he performs an act of charity in proposing his faith to the acceptance of

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 142,

† "If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you, wherein the Son differs from the Father: if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of n thing." (Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. hist. v. iv, p. 71.)

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the uninitiated; but his confidence in it is too firm for any vanity to be gratified by multiplying its adherents. "The conversion of the heart," say the Mussulmans, "belongs to God alone:" and though, from motives of duty, they hold out to strangers the advantages of their faith, they do not disturb the harmony of social intercourse by disputation on its superiority, or by sophistry in its defence. They think, that they have done enough when they have cast the seed; and they leave it to produce fruit in its own good time*.

In their public prayers the Mahometans never ask of God the conversion of other people: but in private it frequently happens, that a pious Turk, instigated by zeal or by personal attachment to a Christian or a Jew, lifts up his hands, and exclaims, "Great God! enlighten this infidel, and graciously dispose his heart to embrace thy holy religion." When devout persons, from a sense of duty, propose their faith to the acceptance of a youth whom they esteem for

* "Turcæ pietati et officio suo convenire existimant, ut homini Christiano, de quo bene sentiant, sacrorum et religionis suæ communionem semel deferant, ut servent, si possint, certo exitio destinatum." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 126.)

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his talents or his knowledge, they do it with a smiling air, and in words carefully studied so as not to give offence. The zeal of the missionary is bounded by the rules of good breeding, and a vague answer, or the abstaining from a reply, is received as an indication, that the subject ought not to be resumed. The doctrine of Mahomet owes its progress less to persuasion than to force. The scimitar was the powerful instrument employed for extending it. The Jews and Christians are distinguished by the name of *kitaby* (people of the book or possessors of scripture) from the idolater, whether worshipper of the heavenly bodies, or of fire, or of idols. The operation of the scimitar, with respect to them, extended no further than to overcome the stubbornness of their hearts, and to dispose them to listen with submission, if not with conviction, to the reasoning of the doctors. Only the heathen and the idolater were threatened with extermination; while the writings of the old and new testament, revered even by Mahometans, were sacred titles, which established a distant relationship between the disciples of the law and the gospel, and their conquerors*. The

* "The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and

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Doric dimensions of the Jewish column are first to be lengthened according to the rules of evangelical proportion, in order to be fitted to receive the Corinthian capital of Mahometan perfection; but the spot, on which it is to be erected, must first be cleared by fire and the sword from the rank luxuriance of polytheism*.

men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish."—"The chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the *koran*. During that period—six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels." (Gibbon's Rom. hist. v. ix, p. 262, 263, 264.)

The stranger, and even the Mussulman, who utters blasphemy against either Moses or Jesus Christ, is sentenced to death by the law. (See a *fetwa* to this effect, extracted by D'Ohsson from the collection published by the *mufti* Behhdjé Abd'ullah Effendi, in the Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 520.)

The conversion of a Jew is not reputed sincere and real; "because," say the Mussulman doctors, "he rejects Jesus Christ, which alone constitutes an act of heinous impiety."

* "Kill and exterminate all the *muschrikinns*" is a precept of the *koran*. *Muschrikinn* is an Arabic word, signifying worshippers of plurality. Where Islamism is predominant, the command has sometimes been executed literally and to the full extent of its meaning. But where the Mahometan church bends under a foreign yoke, the meaning is restricted to the Arabian pagans.

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A difficulty which checked, in some instances, the progress of Christianity among the barbarians, was ingeniously eluded by the author of Islamism. In the moment of agony, when the powers of the body and the faculty of speech can no longer be exerted, it is still allowed, that a sudden ray of divine inspiration may break in, and dispose the soul to a mental acknowledgment of the truth; which tardy conversion effectually secures the proselyte from final perdition*. No convert is called upon to suppose, or to admit, the damnation of his ancestors: the Jew and the Christian are spared the mortification of recanting former errors, or making retrograde motions, the most difficult of any in matters of religion†. The alternative offered to the

* " C'est l'état où se trouvent les hommes au moment de leur mort, qui met le sceau à leur caractère de fidélité ou d'infidélité. Quelle qu'ait été leur vie passée, elle n'y influe pour rien. Ainsi quiconque auroit vécu toute sa vie infidèle, s'il se convertit, est dès-lors réputé fidèle."—" La récitation de la confession de foi (qu'il suffit que l'agonisant fasse d'intention) met le sceau au salut éternel, selon cet oracle du prophète: Celui dont ces paroles, *Il n'y a point de Dieu si non Dieu*, sont les dernières que sa bouche profère, a certainement le paradis pour partage." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 165. t. ii, p. 296.)

† " The heroes of the North had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe, that all their ancestors were in hell:" but " Radbod, king of the Frisons, was so much scandalized by this

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nations who had submitted to the sabre, was, either conversion to the religion of the conquerors, or tribute as the price of retaining their own. Only the idolaters, the Sabians, and the disciples of Zoroaster were excluded from the indulgence granted to the professors of every other religion. No community of opinion or belief connected them with the Mahometans; and extirpation appeared the only security against the propagation of their infectious doctrines.

Public charities.

The professors of Islamism, in the genuine spirit of piety, consider, that religion is best characterized by acts of public utility. They have been accused of ostentation in their charities, and of being actuated only by the spirit of pride or superstition; but if we judge of their motives by their own declarations we shall be surprised at the injustice and uncharitableness of this censure. Charity is compared by the poet Jami to musk, whose substance, though concealed from the sight, is discovered by the grateful odour which it diffuses: another Turkish poet has left the

rash declaration of a missionary that he drew back his foot, after he had entered the baptismal fount." (Gibbon's Rom. hist. v. vi, p. 278.)

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following precept. "Let the stream of liberality flow so silently from your hand that its sound may not reach even to your ears." It is, however, a pardonable, if not even a laudable, superstition, to suppose the author of all good looking with complacency on the humble imitation of his perfections; and a justifiable pride, to feel the heart swell upon seeing the weary and the hungry fed and refreshed, the ignorant instructed, and the sick healed, by our beneficence. A *khan* or *caravanserai* for the accommodation of travellers*, a mosque with its schools and hos-

* The best description of the public buildings called *caravanserais* is given by Busbequius. (Epist. i, p. 17.) "Diverti in diversorium publicum. Caravansarai Turcæ vocant. Hoc genus in ea regione usitatissimum. Vastum est ædificium, longius aliquanto quam latius, in cujus medio patet area ponendis sarcinis, et camelis, mulis, carrisque collocandis. Hanc aream plerumque circumcirca murus ambit, tres plus minus pedes altus, parieti, quo totum ædificium clauditur, hærens et inædificatus. Ejus muri summa superficies æqua est, patetque in latitudinem pedes circiter quatuor. Hic Turcarum cubilia sunt; hic cœnacula; hic rem expediunt culinariam (nam in pariete, quo totum ædificium contineri dixi, foci subinde sunt inædificati) nulla re a camelis, equis, reliquisque jumentis, alia sejuneti, quam ejus muri spatio, quinimo ad muri pedem ita ligatos habent equos, ut capite et tota cervice supra eum emineant; dominisque se calefacientibus aut etiam cœnantibus adstent, veluti ministri; interdum panem vel malum, sive quid aliud, de manu eorum capiunt. In eodem muro lectos sibi sternunt. Tapetem in primis explicant, quem ea

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pitals, a fountain, a bridge, or a public road, cannot be unostentatiously established without abridging their utility. "We must not attribute their erection," says Mr. Eton, "to patriotism or public spirit*." Be it so: but I have galloped across a scorching desert in hopes of discovering a fountain to allay the thirst of myself and my horse, and have blessed the philanthropy which had searched out, and erected a monument on, the only spot which furnished water. One of the fountains in Constantinople bears the following inscription. "This fountain tells thee its age in verses composed by Sultan Ahmed. Unlock my pure and inexhaustible stores and call upon the name of God: drink of my limpid and untroubled waters and pray for Sultan Ahmed." The *namaz giahs*, or places for ablution and prayer erected on the road side, consist of a kind of altar, a monument of stone decorated with the figure

de causa aptatum ephippiis fere circumferunt: huic injiciunt penulam: cervical præbet equestris sella. Veste talari pellibus suffulta, qua vestiuntur diu, teguntur noctu. Sic illi somnum capiunt nullis lacessitum blandimentis. Nihil ibi secreti: omnia fiunt in propatulo, neque quicquam ab omnium conspectu, nisi noctis tenebris, submovetur."

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 121.

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of a lamp, in colours or in low relief, which serves to point out the direction of the temple of Mecca, the *kebla* or visible point of the horizon to which the eye and the thought should be directed during the exercise of prayer. These signals, erected in imitation of those which regulate the positions of the faithful in every mosque and almost in every private house, are usually elevated on a platform or terrace, adjoining to a well or a fountain, and shaded with trees. I can assert from my own experience, that the traveller in Turkey meets with no objects which excite in him more agreeable sensations than these pious or philanthropic establishments. De Tott asserts, that "they are worth a great number of indulgences, for which the Turks, who obtain them, find a ready sale*." But the Turks are unacquainted with indulgences: they indeed allow, that the merit of good works may be transferred or sold; and their historians relate, that Sultan Bajazet, after vainly endeavouring to prevail on a *pasha* to yield to him the merit of having erected a bridge over a torrent which interrupted the communication between Constantinople and

* De Tott's memoirs, v. i, p. 154.

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Adrianople, struck off the *pasha's* head, swam across the torrent at the hazard of his life, and ordered his army to halt till the waters had abated *.

Hospitality to strangers and giving alms to the poor, are virtues to which the oriental nations are much habituated. In imitation of the patriarchs, and with unaffected simplicity, the tables of the rich and great are daily open to all who can with propriety present themselves; while inferior persons of every class range themselves around the tables of the officers of their household and their domestics, and the fragments are distributed at the door to the poor and the hungry. A servant would blush at the idea of making a perquisite of them: even the peasant will offer the corner of his hut to the traveller, and rather than refuse him a welcome, will put himself to considerable inconvenience to entertain him. The right of proprietorship is seldom exerted to exclude from a garden, an orchard, or a vineyard, any person who may choose to enter them, and to pluck and eat the herbs or the fruit. I will not wholly attribute to the same principle their tender-

Hospitality and alms.

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 171.

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Tenderness towards brute animals.

ness to the inferior classes of animals, as in some cases they seem to be restrained from molesting or destroying them as much by indolence as humanity*. The dog, as an unclean animal whose contact produces legal defilement, is rigorously excluded from their dwellings and the courts of their mosques. But they allow dogs to increase in their streets till they become an intolerable nuisance, even in the day time, and are really a formidable evil to those who have occasion to pass through the Turkish quarter of the town at night. These animals have divided the city into districts. They jealously guard

* The question scarcely appears deserving of a controversy. De Tott, whose object in writing his memoirs was to debase the Turkish character, imputes to a childish fondness for amusement their care of providing food for cats and dogs. (See Memoirs, v. i, p. 212.) D'Ohsson, on the other hand, asserts (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 25), "that they are restrained from ill-treating brute animals by a principle of compassion, the influence of which is so prevalent among them that, according to the Turkish historians, many of the earlier princes, who were unable to resist their inclination for hunting, condemned themselves, from a scruple of conscience, to give away in alms to the poor the value of the game which they killed." Certain it is, that no one is allowed to overload beasts of burthen, or to use them with cruelty. Every person who has lived in Constantinople must have remarked, that the city guards frequently interfere (and have a right to do so), and insist upon an overloaded horse or a mule being eased of his burthen.

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from encroachment the imaginary line which bounds their native territory, and they never transgress it, either in their pursuit of an invading dog, or in their attack on the passenger, whom they deliver over at their frontier to be worried by the neighbouring pack*. Constantinople may be considered as the paradise of birds: the doves feed unmolested on the corn which is conveyed in open lighters across the harbour, and they luxuriate in such security that they scarcely yield a passage to the boatmen or labourers. The confused noise of the harbour is increased by

* The law of the *koran* prohibits the slaughter of dogs and other domestic animals, except such as are fit for food. But, as I have observed also in Tartary and in several cities of Russia, that the streets are filled with filthy and unowned dogs, I suppose, that the Turkish toleration of them proceeds rather from custom than precept. In the capital of Turkey dogs are not without their use: they devour every digestible offal, with which the streets would otherwise be contaminated. Indeed, it is chiefly owing to them, and the declivities on which the city is built, that some degree of exterior cleanliness is preserved. The ordure of dogs is an useful article in the manufacture of Morocco leather. All the supposed causes of canine madness seem to exist in the greatest abundance in Turkey, yet that dreadful calamity is entirely unknown.

Nassuh Pasha, grand vizir to Ahmed the First, from some motive of superstition which he never chose to explain, removed all the dogs from the streets of Constantinople, and sent them over by boat-loads to the opposite coast of Asia.

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the clang of sea-birds: to shoot at them in the neighbourhood of the city, would be rash; and even in the villages on the Bosphorus inhabited by Franks, where the Turks can only censure, they never fail to reprobate the destruction of them as an act of wanton cruelty*. The hog, alone of all animals, excites in the Turks a sense of loath-

* "Ils regardent comme une inhumanité criminelle, non seulement l'action de tuer les animaux, mais encore celle de les priver de leur liberté, sur-tout ceux dont la chair est interdite sur leur table. Plusieurs les achètent et les délivrent ainsi des mains des chasseurs. On voit dans toutes les villes des cages remplies d'oiseaux que l'on vend sous le nom d'*azad-couchlery*, c'est-à-dire, oiseaux à affranchir, dont les dévots paient la valeur pour les remettre en liberté." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 309.)

"Est e regione diversorii nostri procera platanus, amplitudine ramorum et opacitate frondium spectanda: sub ea interdum consistunt aucupes, cum magno avicularum numero: accedunt multi, et parvo ære captivas redimunt, quas singulatim deinceps manu emittunt. Illæ fere in platanum subvolant, ubi se a carceris squallore et sordibus purgant, pinnasque explicant, pipilantes interim. Tum Turcæ qui redemerunt, *audin'*, inquiunt alter alteri, *ut sibi gratulatur, et mihi gratias agit?* Quid ergo? Adeone Pythagoræi Turcæ, ut omne animal apud eos sacrosanctum sit, nulloque vescantur? Minime, imo fere a nullo abstinent, quod sit appositum, sive elixo sive assato. Ovem quidem lanienæ nasci dicunt, sed non ferunt ex earum cruciatu et tormento voluptatem quæri. Minores quidem aves, quarum cantu rura campique celebrantur, sunt qui nulla ratione adduci queant ut interficiant, imo ut caveis inclusas teneant, nimiam libertati earum injuriam sic fieri existimantes. Sed non est omnibus una sententia." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 119.)

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ing and abhorrence; and though permitted in the infidel quarters of some provincial towns, is scrupulously banished from the capital and its suburbs*. The hog, however, is a creature destined by nature to live in filth and mire, and to cleanse the neighbourhood of the habitations of men; and it may be worth inquiry, whether the absence of so useful an animal, by deranging the order of nature, may not tend to the production, or facilitate the progress, of the plague.

Character of the Turks;

The physical effect of climate upon the character, though its operation cannot be wholly denied, is yet so much over-ruled by moral causes that they alone form the line of demarcation between the different inhabitants of this great empire. The austerity of the Mahometan religion gives to its votaries a certain moroseness of character, which, towards persons of a different persuasion, is heightened into superciliousness. The gravity of deportment, which such a religion necessarily generates, is left without its proper corrective, the gayety inspired by the pre-

their austerity,

*An exception is made in favour of the "corps diplomatique," to whom a *firman* is granted for the admission of hogs into the district of Pera during the Carnival. But they make their entry at midnight, and by the light of torches.

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irritability of temper,

sence and conversation of women. The Turk is usually placid, hypochondriac, and unimpassioned; but, when the customary sedateness of his temper is ruffled, his passions, unmitigated by the benign influence of female manners, are furious and uncontrollable. The individual seems possessed with all the ungovernable fury of a multitude; and all ties, all attachments, all natural and moral obligations, are forgotten or despised, till his rage subsides *. De Tott represents them as "seeking celebrity by murder, without having courage to commit it deliberately, and deriving only from intoxication sufficient resolution for such a crime †." But intoxication itself is a vice so rare among the Turks

* "Dans tous, ce caractère fier et hautain se porte, à la moindre occasion, à une pétulance incroyable. Rien chez eux n'arrête les élans de la nature, même parmi les hommes de la plus grande distinction. Dans son emportement le père, le mari, le maître, le patron, le général, l'officier, l'homme public, l'homme privé, se fait le plus souvent justice lui-même, soit en frappant de la main ou du bâton l'objet de sa colère, soit en l'effrayant par des menaces accompagnées d'injures les plus atroces. C'est alors qu'ils prodiguent sans ménagement les épithètes de *dihnsiz*, *imannsiz*, homme sans foi, sans loi; de *keavour* et de *keafir*, infidèle, blasphémateur; de *kiopek* et de *domouz*, chien, porc; mais sur-tout le jurement national *anassiny sikéim*, que la décence ne nous permet pas de traduire," (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 371.)

† Memoirs, v. i, p. 14.

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that it is evident De Tott must have drawn his general conclusion from some particular instance. It has been asserted with more truth by a more ancient author than De Tott, that "brawls and quarrels are rare among the Turks: assassinations are unheard of: and though among men striving onward in the same career there must necessarily exist a spirit of envy and secret rancour, yet the base means of supplanting a rival candidate by slander and detraction are seldom resorted to*." The point of honour so much insisted upon, and so pernicious in its consequences, among Europeans, exerts a very feeble influence over the minds of the Turks. De Tott's observation applies rather to the Italians or the Greeks of the Ionian islands† than to the Turks, among whom it is certain, that anger generally evaporates in abuse. The practice of duelling is confined to the soldiers and *galiongis* (or marines), if a combat can deserve the name of duel which

* Montalbanus, apud Elzevir. p. 39.

† "The Greeks of Zante in habit imitate the Italians, but transcend them in their revenges—they make more conscience to break a fast, than to commit a murther.—But cowardice is joined with their cruelty, who dare do nothing but suddenly, upon advantages, and are ever privately armed." (Sandys's travels, p. 7.)

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for the most part is decided on the spot where the offence was given, and with such weapons as are nearest at hand, or the parties may happen to wear. The man of rank may insult his inferior by words or even blows; and as the one derives impunity from his situation, so the other feels no further than the real, or physical, extent of the injury. An affront received from an equal is retorted without any variation of form, and is almost immediately forgotten, if the friends of the parties interfere and propose a reconciliation. There must indeed be some exceptions to this remark, though they occur so rarely that I cannot recollect a single instance which can justify the general assertion of Sir James Porter, that "they are vindictive beyond conception, perpetuating revenge through successive generations*:" and indeed we may appeal to the general experience of human nature, whether such a temper be not inconsistent with the constitutional apathy of the Turks; or whether the resentment which explodes in sudden fury, be not generally of very short duration. D'Ohsson indeed asserts, that individuals have ex-

* Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 4.

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hibited such depravity of heart as to cherish their projects of vengeance, and sacrifice with unrelenting barbarity the object of their resentment after an interval of forty years*. I cannot question a fact supported by such respectable testimony; neither can I consider it as an illustration of the national character, but rather as a departure from that conduct which the Mussulman law, and the manners of the Ottoman people, more naturally generate. If the circumstances of the case had been more minutely detailed, I have little doubt but we should discover, that this long continued anger of the Turk had been first excited by the insolence of a *rayah*, the creature or the favourite of a man in power. An affront of this nature is seldom forgotten, but is indeed as rarely given; for the *rayah*, however puffed up with arrogance towards his fellows, cautiously avoids the expression of superiority towards a Turk even in the humblest situation, as knowing, that in the ordinary course of events he may be raised to posts of the highest dignity. But if we admit among the features of the national character an impla-

* Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 474.

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cability of temper, we may oppose to it, what is more frequently exhibited, the exercise of gratitude. A benefit conferred on a Turk is seldom forgotten: the greater his elevation, the more does he feel and acknowledge the desire and the duty of repaying benefits. "I have received kindness from him in the days of humiliation and distress: I have eaten his bread and his salt:" and the obligation, so simply yet so energetically expressed, is too sacred ever to be annulled.

Intemperance in the use of wine

Drunkenness is condemned by the Mussulman law and the customs of the Ottoman nation. It is, however, considered but as a venial crime, and has been indulged in by some of their greatest sultans. Selim the Second was so addicted to it that he even obtained the surname of *Mest*, or the Drunkard; but the Turkish historians observe, in extenuation of his excesses, that they never caused him to omit his daily prayers. Intemperance in wine had come to such an ungovernable excess among the Turks in the reign of Soliman the First, that that *virtuous* prince, says D'Ohsson, was obliged to check the use of it by the most rigorous penalties. He even carried his severity so

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far as to order melted lead to be poured down the throats of the obstinate transgressors of the precepts of the *koran*. But, as a Turkish writer has well observed, "the religion of a nation is as the religion of the monarch:" for Selim the Drunkard, the son and immediate successor of Soliman, seduced the nation by his example into the most unblushing debauchery. "Let others put their trust in man," said the jovial sultan, "I throw myself into the arms of the Almighty, and resign myself to his immutable decrees. I think only of the pleasures of the day, and have no care for futurity." Murad the Fourth, seduced by the gayety and example of Becri Mustafa, not only drank wine in public, but allowed the free use of it to his subjects, and even compelled the *mufti* and *cazyaskers* to drink with him.

The practice of drinking wine is generally reprobated; but as drinking a large quantity entails no greater curse than moderation, those who have once transgressed, proceed without further scruple to perfect ebriety. Busbequius saw an old man at Constantinople, who, when he took the glass in his hand, summoned his soul to take refuge in some corner of his body, or to quit it en-

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tirely, and thus avoid the participation or pollution of his crime. I have frequently observed an habitual drunkard carefully remove his mustaches from defilement, and, after a hearty draught, distort his face, as though he had been taking medicine. The prophet has declared, that the pens of the two recording angels are unemployed upon the actions of men in certain situations of life; of those who sleep, until they awake, of minors, until the full maturity of their reason, and of madmen, until they be restored to their senses. I conclude, rather indeed from the conduct of the Turks than from the glosses of the Mussulman doctors, that the drunkard, the voluntary madman, is also considered as not morally accountable for his conduct until his phrenzy be dispersed*.

and opium, Those who intoxicate themselves with opium are stigmatized with the appellation of *teriaki*.

* Sir John Mandevil, who tells a ridiculous story of Mahomet's extravagant conduct during a drunken fit as his motive for forbidding the use of wine to his followers, is seriously angry with the prophet for imposing a restraint, of which, during his Turkish campaigns, he must have frequently felt the inconvenience. "Cujus maledictio convertatur in caput ejus, et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendat, cum de vino scriptum constet quod Deum et homines lætificet." (Mandevil, ap. Hakluyt. cap. xxiii, p. 44.)

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The lavish use of that drug seems successively to exhilarate, to lull, to depress, and to accelerate both corporal and mental decay. To some it is by habit rendered so necessary that the fast of the month *ramazan*, during which they are deprived of it in the day time, becomes a serious penance. I have been assured by a Turk, but I do not warrant his assertion, that, in order to alleviate their sufferings, they swallow, besides their usual pill at the morning *ezann*, a certain number of pills wrapt up in several folds of paper, which will, as they suppose, resist the powers of the stomach for different lengths of time, and be dissolved in due rotation, so as to correspond with their usual allowance. Dr. Pouqueville cites a still more remarkable fact, which, although he omitted to confirm it by his own inquiries, he says, cannot reasonably be questioned *since every body agrees in asserting its truth.* M. M. Ruffin and Dantan (both dragomans attached to the service of the French legation, and both worthy members of the corps to which they belong), assured him, that in the year 1800 there existed in Constantinople a Turk known to the whole town under the name of *Suleyman yeyen*, or *Soliman the taker of corro-*

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sive sublimate. "This man," says Dr. Pouqueville, "was a rare instance of longevity. He was nearly an hundred years old when I was in Constantinople. In his early youth he had habituated himself to take opium, till at last, though he augmented his dose, it failed in producing its effect. He had heard of corrosive sublimate, and substituted the daily use of it to that of opium: his dose exceeded a drachm, and he had regularly taken it for upwards of thirty years." I am less acquainted than Dr. Pouqueville with the effects commonly produced by corrosive sublimate; but without indulging in scepticism as to the marvellous part of the story, I cannot persuade myself (unless it be an acknowledged quality of corrosive sublimate to exhilarate in the manner of opium), that even a Turk could persist for thirty years in the daily custom of swallowing such a fiery and poisonous draught*.

* Voyage en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 125.

I ought not however to omit pointing out some inconsistences in the story, which are so glaring that it is wonderful how they could have escaped Dr. Pouqueville's notice. "The first essay of this *taker of corrosive sublimate* was made in the shop of a Jewish apothecary. Soliman called for a drachm of the mineral, diluted it in a glass of water, and drank it off, to the astonishment and terror of the apothecary, who was alarmed lest

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The custom of receiving and making presents is consecrated among the oriental na- covetousness,

lest he should be accused of poisoning a Turk: he shut up his shop, and was filled with anxiety when he reflected on the consequences which he expected must necessarily ensue. But the next day, great was his surprise at the re-appearance of Soliman, who came to his shop for a repetition of his dose." Now the shutting up of his shop must be understood as the act of absconding, for if it mean, that he merely closed his window-shutters to open them again the next morning, this circumstance indicated no apprehension of danger, neither can it be considered as a precautionary measure, and should not have been mentioned. But how can we reconcile the circumstance of the apothecary's flight with that of his personal attendance in the shop on the very next morning? This absurd story gives me an opportunity, not only of showing, that Dr. Pouqueville has listened with too much credulity to the idle tales of dragomans, but also that he has listened with too much complacency to the suggestions of vanity, in over-rating his own acquirements. Dr. Pouqueville takes occasion (t. ii, p. 218) in relating another story *(which in my conscience I believe to be no less false than this of Soliman)*, to insinuate, that he speaks the Turkish language with so much fluency as to astonish even the natives. But in the story of the *taker of corrosive sublimate* he evidently demonstrates, that he is wholly ignorant of the Turkish language. *Suleyman yeyen*, he tells us, means *Soliman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. To the reader unskilled in eastern literature it must appear no less curious than it did to Moliere's "bourgeois gentilhomme," that the Turkish language should be so concise and comprehensive as to express in a single word a whole complex sentence. *Suleyman* is the proper name of the hero of the farce, so that consequently the secret of this extraordinary strength of stomach must be sought after in a careful analysis of the word *yeyen*. Now *yeyen* is the participle present of the active verb *yemek*, "to eat," and simply signifies "eating." "Soliman the eater, or the glutton," is the only interpretation which the words will admit of, but even that is ill-expressed in Turkish by *Suleyman yeyen*.

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tions by immemorial practice, so that it seems to have acquired the force and inviolability of a law. We are told, that in ancient Persia no one presumed to appear without gifts before the sovereign or a superior; a custom seemingly analogous with the idea of sacrifice*. Contemporary historians also relate, that the grand vizir of Mahomet the Second, whenever he received the royal mandate to attend his master even on public business, offered to the sultan, as a tribute of duty and gratitude, a cup filled with pieces of gold. But this trait of Turkish manners, which is unconfirmed by modern observation, rests solely on the authority of the Byzantine writers, and on the credit which is due to their relation of an important conference, which was held in the dead of night, between the sultan and his prime minister†.

"Whoever has dealings with the Turks," says Busbequius, "must open his purse from the first moment of his passing their frontiers, and keep it in constant activity during his residence in their country. By no other

* See Ælian, Hist. Var. l. i, c. 31, 32, 33.

† See Gibbon, v. xii, p. 195, 196.

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means can the Turkish austerity be relaxed, nor their aversion to foreigners be removed. Without this charm it would be a vain attempt to sooth or to render them tractable. The stranger owes his safety among them only to the influence of money: without it, he would experience as few comforts as in travelling over solitudes condemned by nature to the extremes of heat or cold*." The judgment of Busbequius has, in this instance, submitted to the sway of his fancy, and he has indulged in rhetorical exaggeration. Foreign ministers of the present day express less disapprobation of the gentle importunities of the Turks, and feel less regret at the necessity of keeping their coffers continually open. An Englishman can, indeed, scarcely read, without blushing for the honour of his country, the long detail and wearisome repetition of presents recorded in Dr. Wittman's journal; of snuff boxes and pelisses, of shawls and gown pieces, of sheep and even of money, which, in some instances, appear to have been expected with a greater degree of confidence than is consistent with the nature of a free gift.

* Busbeq. Epist. i, p. 26.

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The custom of making presents before admission to a public audience of the grand signor, has induced some authors to assert, not only that the Turks consider it as the payment of tribute, but that it is actually the price of the commercial privileges and advantages which the subjects of the European states enjoy in Turkey. When, however, it is considered, that the same custom was always observed by the Ottoman ambassadors who were sent to foreign courts, of which many instances occur in the diplomatic relations of the porte with the courts of Ispahan and Vienna, even after the termination of a successful war*, it will appear, that the eastern governments by no means consider the offering of gifts as the avowal of inferiority. When M. de Feriol, ambassador from Lewis the Fourteenth, refused, even at the threshold of the audience chamber, to comply with the long established custom of taking off his sword before entering into the presence of the grand signor, his presents were sent back as a mark of the sultan's disapprobation of his conduct and dislike of his person, but he continued to

* See Mignot, t. ii, p. 250. De la Motraye, t. i, p. 222.

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reside at Constantinople, during ten years, the acknowledged and accredited agent of the king of France*.

Among the Turks, presents from a person of equal rank or fortune are considered to denote pure and disinterested affection: the great receive them from their inferiors as marks of homage and respect, and confer them in token of favour or beneficence†.

The political institutions of the Ottomans suppose the venality of every subdivision of the government; and hence avarice is ascribed to the national character. The subjection of the *rayahs* furnishes the Turks with the means of satisfying this passion‡;

* See Cantemir, p. 423, note 33.

† "Tous les sujets de l'*emir* me connoissoient. Dès qu'ils apprirent mon retour, ils vinrent en foule me rendre visite et m'apporter des présens, et voyant que je ne voulois pas les recevoir, ils les laissoient auprès de ma tente et s'en alloient en publiant le bien que je leur avois fait. Le prince le sçût, et me dit qu'il étoit bien aise que ses sujets eussent de la reconnoissance, et que je les attristois en refusant quelques bagatelles qu'ils m'offroient comme une marque de leur affection; de sorte que je fus obligé de les contenter, et de recevoir leurs présens; mais en échange, je leur en faisois d'autres que je les priois de garder pour se souvenir de moi." (D'Arvieux, t. iii, p. 131.)

‡ "Si, à une époque quelconque, un musulman a reçu un bienfait ou une marque de générosité, il s'en fait un droit pour l'avenir, et crie à l'injustice si l'on vient à changer de conduite dans une autre occasion." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 313.)

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hence they consider their influence, their authority, the powers of their mind, and the force of their arm, as proper objects of barter in affairs between or against infidels, without regarding the action in a moral point of view*; and if Aristotle's judgment could be so biassed by the corrupt institutions of Greece as to conclude, that nature had ordained the barbarians to be slaves, can we wonder, that such shallow reasoners as the Turks should consider the actual abuse of their power as a proof that it is sanctioned by the deity, and should exercise it to their own advantage, whenever the weaknesses and vices, the follies and crimes, of the *rayahs* afford them the means of acquiring wealth? It is in these instances, that they show their hypocrisy, and that they will express all the benevolence of virtue while they are acting only from sordid and selfish motives. In higher life and public stations these vices prevail to a greater extent; and the crimes which flow from them sometimes excite horror in the auditors, but never produce remorse in the perpetrators†.

* "Tantos longinqui temporis felicitas huic genti spiritus fecit, ut nihil iniquum putet quod velit, nihil æquum quod nolit." (Busbeq. Epist. ii, p. 79.)

† Petraichi, a Greek banker, had so far insinuated himself

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The lure of personal interest exercises the sagacity, and stimulates the industry of the Turks. But in general it may be observed, that the interest of the moment, and not the permanent good of themselves nor of society, is the standard of their actions. The ambitious man, cautious, cunning, and persevering, moves forward to the attainment of his object with undivided attention, without being checked in his progress by the inferior considerations of consanguinity, of friendship, or of gratitude. Such, however, is the character of ambition in all countries; and it is not in Turkey alone, that power has been raised on the ruin of a patron or a benefactor. ambition.

The Turk, uncorrupted by public em- hypocrisy.

into the good graces of the court that he was permitted to have access to the sultan. The celebrated Hassan, the *capudan pasha*, had a dragoman named Mavroyeni, a native of one of the islands in the Archipelago, whom he wished to promote to the principality of Wallachia. As Mavroyeni was of plebeian birth, the Greek nobility violently opposed the innovation, and they prevailed upon Petraichi to exert his influence to avert an appointment so degrading to them, and so injurious to their interests. But the power of Hassan Pasha prevailed, and the unfortunate Petraichi was beheaded in the outer court of the seraglio, while clinging to the stirrup of Mavroyeni, and soliciting his interposition for a pardon, which is never refused to a prince on the day of his inauguration.

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ployments, considers sincerity as the basis of virtue, and his word as sacred. But the Turkish courtier veils his purposes with the most impenetrable dissimulation; and the keenest observation cannot detect the tumult of his mind, in the interval between the first project and the commission of a crime on which his life or his fortune depends*.

behaviour to strangers.

The Mussulmans, courteous and humane in their intercourse with each other, sternly refuse to unbelievers the salutation of peace. "Hence," says Cantemir, "Christian princes may easily imagine how infirm is the peace they can promise themselves from the Turks†." But the conclusion is erroneous; for they do not refuse temporal peace, but that "which the world cannot give," and which, consistently with their religious opinion, they must

* The late lord high admiral, Hussein Pasha, commanded the expedition against the rebel governor of Viddin, and failed, as Olivier justly observes, "because he was in want of men capable of directing a siege, and of soldiers better disposed for supporting the cause." It was thereupon determined, that Alo Pasha, who had joined the army with his feudal and provincial troops, should be accused before the sultan as a traitor, and the want of success in the war be imputed to him. Hussein invited him to dinner; and while the unfortunate Alo was washing his hands after the repast, and the servant was spreading out a napkin before him, Hussein took up a short carabine, which was ready loaded, and shot him dead upon the sopha.

† Cantemir, p. 76, note 17.

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suppose to be exclusively attached to a belief in Islamism. The common people, more bigoted to their dogmas, express more bluntly their sense of superiority over the Christians; but it is false, that even they return the address of a Christian with insult. The formulary of compliments is indeed different: believers recognize each other by the benediction, sanctified by the arch-angel Rafaël in his address to Mahomet, *selam aleykum*, the peace of God be upon thee; but they reply to the civilities of an unbeliever by the polite and charitable expression, *ahbetin hayr ola*, may thy end be happy. Dr. Dallaway says, "I have observed a Turk lay aside his moroseness, and become affable and communicative, when he can do so without stepping from his dignity." I think, indeed, it would be difficult to produce, from the history of any people, an instance of more dignified courtesy than was exhibited in the reception given by Ised Bey to Baron de Tott. Ised Bey was promoted to the rank of grand vizir; and on the third day after his installation the baron went to the porte to pay his respects. They had served together in the army, and were familiarly acquainted; but De Tott, instead of presuming

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upon former intimacy, placed himself upon the sopha at a respectful distance. "How, my old friend," said the vizir, "are you afraid to approach me?" Then opening his pelisse, and spreading it on the sopha, "sit down," said he, "on that fur; that is your proper place: though you have forgotten, it ought not to escape my memory." The multitude, says De Tott, who always act from first impressions, immediately exclaimed, with a kind of enthusiasm, "long live our new master*." Mr. Eton, pleasantly and accurately enough, compares the general behaviour of a Turk to a Christian with that of a German baron to his vassal. But when a Turk, as not unfrequently happens, rises above the prejudices and institutions of his country, he divests himself in his intercourse with infidels of his predominant passions, and practises towards them the same mild virtues which regulate his transactions with men of his own religion†.

* De Tott's memoirs, v. iii, p. 201.

† Mr. Eton relates a story, calculated, *in his opinion*, to expose the incorrigible boorishness *of the Turks*, and their contempt of foreign nations. "A Turkish prisoner met a Russian officer in the streets of Cherson, and, as the dirt in the streets was over the shoes, made signs for the officer to make way for

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The external modes of good breeding among the Turks differ entirely from those established in the other countries of Europe. The uncovering of the head, which with us is considered as the expression of reverence and respect, is ridiculed or reprobated among them as an act of folly, or as indicating a contempt of propriety and decency. These and similar opinions are universal; hence they are invincibly attached to the observance of their own peculiar customs.

Their usual form of salutation is natural and graceful. In greeting an equal, they

him on the pavement. The officer, *not being a violent man*, only beckoned to a soldier, who *pushed him headlong off the pavement*. The governor of the town, who saw the whole, *reprimanded the Turk*, and threatened him with the same treatment as the Russian prisoners endure at Constantinople. The Turk's answer was, 'they are infidels, but I am a Mussulman;' and this procured him an *additional drubbing*." (Survey, p. 117.) To me, who have lived familiarly with the Russian officers, who know Cherson and know that there is *no pavement* there, the whole story appears rather "un conte en l'air" than a picture of manners. Yet if it be not absolutely an invention, I apprehend the Turk intended to reproach *his countrymen* with behaving to their prisoners unlike Mussulmans. His answer was probably *onlar ghiaour dourlar, ben musluman em* which indeed is literally such as Mr. Eton has represented it, yet it admits more naturally of the interpretation which I have supposed: for had the Turk meant to insult the Russians, he would have said, "*you*" (and not *they*) "are infidels," *siz ghiaour sounouz*."

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put the hand on the heart: in addressing a superior, they apply the right hand first to the mouth and then to the forehead: when a Turk presents himself before a man of rank and dignity, he makes a profound inclination of his body, extends his right hand first towards the ground, and then raises it to his mouth and forehead: in the presence of the sovereign, he must even touch the ground before lifting the hand to the head. The air of gravity and decorum of exterior, which are common to the Ottomans, give considerable dignity to this ceremonious expression of homage or civility; and its effect is further improved by the grandeur of their ample and flowing garments. Children and subalterns express submission to their parents and chiefs by kissing their robe: if the superior withdraws his robe and presents his hand, and more especially the palm of his hand, it is received as a mark of distinguished favour. The kiss of religious fraternity is interchanged only at the two festivals of *baïram*. At other times, they figuratively express parental or filial affection by extending the hand toward the chin or the beard of the person, and then applying it to their own mouths. The

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father of a family and the man of elevated rank never rise from their seats to receive either their children or inferiors; and by parity of reasoning, no Mussulman rises to salute an infidel whatever be his situation in life. A guest of distinction is received at the foot of the stairs by two officers of the household, who support him under the arm as far as the entrance of the visiting chamber, where the master of the house advances to meet him, if his rank entitles him to such marks of respect. At his departure, the master of the house rises with him and accompanies him to the door of the apartment, walking, not on his right or left side, but a few paces before him. After exchanging compliments, the stranger is reconducted by the pages to his horse or his barge.

Every traveller must have noticed (though Dumont appears to be the first who has recorded the observation), that the Turkish usages are strikingly contrasted with our own. This dissimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is so general, even in things of apparent insignificance, as almost to indicate design rather than accident. The whole exterior of the Oriental is different

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from ours. The European stands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his chest protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees straight. The attitude of the Turk is less remote from nature, and in each of these respects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient statuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and loose, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, encumbering motion, and ill-adapted to manly exercise. Our close and short dresses, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modesty. They reverence the beard as the symbol of manhood and the token of independence*, but they practise depilation of the body from motives of cleanliness. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their shoes. In inviting a person to approach them, they use what with us is considered as a repulsive motion of the hand. In writing, they trace the lines from right to left. The master of a house does the honours

* See in the memoirs of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (t. iii, p. 204—223), a curious and correct account of the respect which the Arabs and the Orientals in general have for the beard.

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of his table by serving himself first from the dish: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wish him health when he has finished his draught. They lie down to sleep in their clothes. They affect a grave and sedate exterior: their amusements are all of the tranquil kind: they confound with folly the noisy expression of gayety: their utterance is slow and deliberate; they even feel satisfaction in silence: they attach the idea of majesty to slowness of motion: they pass in repose all the moments of life which are not occupied with serious business: they retire early to rest; and they rise before the sun.

Much speculation has been exercised to discover whence such a total diversity of customs and ceremonies could originate among creatures possessing the same common nature, placed under similar circumstances, feeling the same wants, and actuated by the same appetites and passions. To some it appears to constitute the grand characteristic of the two separate classes which may be distinguished among the inhabitants of the earth. The great family of mankind has been considered as susceptible of being divided into Europeans and Asiatics, rather

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from the discriminative appearances of their habits and moral qualities than from the position of the countries which they inhabit on the surface of the globe; and it is perhaps from respect for the authority on which this opinion is founded, that Dr. Pouqueville determines the Turks to belong in no respect to Europe, except from the corner of it which they occupy*. His assertion is indeed further corroborated by the modes of speech which are familiar among the Frank inhabitants of Constantinople, who feel themselves seduced, or compelled, from the irreconcileable nature of the objects which surround them with those in the west of Europe, to apply the adjective European almost exclusively to those countries which are more correctly denominated Christian. The observation itself evinces nicety of discernment, as well as extensive experience of men and manners; but the expression appears to be incorrect, inasmuch as it seems to attribute to climate and geographical situation what should rather be sought in social institutions; in government, religion, and domestic economy, which exert a more general and uniform influence.

* See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 142.

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The nations of antiquity, if compared with those of modern Europe, will be found to possess many of those peculiarities which we have chosen to consider as exclusively characteristic of the Asiatics. The loose garments, the long beards, the gravity of manners, the custom of reclining upon couches during meals, the habitual use of the warm bath, and several other instances of similarity, may be traced among the Greeks and the Romans. European manners have not till of late years been partially blended with those of Russia. The Polish and Hungarian nations still exhibit traces of their Asiatic origin. It is only among the unmixed Celtic and Teutonic nations, that we discover a distinct and peculiar system of manners. It is evident therefore, since we find, even in many countries of Europe, the manners of both continents thus combined, that the great characteristical distinction which has been observed, is independent of the arbitrary arrangements of geographers, and not less, of the natural divisions of latitudes and climates.

The theory of Montesquieu, that not only inertness of body and indolence of mind, but also that a spirit of submission to injury and

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of obedience to tyranny, are naturally and necessarily induced by the heat of the climate, is sufficiently refuted by history, by actual observation, and by reason. The first and most powerful incentives to action are the wants of human nature: if the savage live in a country in which these may be easily supplied, his activity will relax, unless new desires provoke new exertions. For natural wants have their limits, and, in the midst of abundance, the primary motives to the exercise of the mental or bodily faculties must cease to operate on the accomplishment of their object. If it require unremitting exertion to assure a scanty subsistence, greater industry will indeed be employed, but the labouring savage will scarcely attain to any mental superiority over his more indolent associate: the latter can be animated to thought or labour only by factitious desires or artificial wants; and these must owe their creation and development to the influence of female society. But if, by the civil institutions, women are condemned to a subordinate rank and an insulated situation, if they be confined to their respective families, and subjected to the arbitrary control of the other sex, their influence on the national

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manners will be partial, limited, and barren of improvement. Such however was the state of women throughout the whole of Asia, whether in the burning peninsula of India, or on the bleak and frozen platform of Tartary*. Such too it was, though in a less degree, in Greece and in Rome†, and such it still subsists in a great part of Russia. In the Sarmatian and Hunnish nations some traces of the system may even now be discovered among the people; and the Spaniards, though of European origin, resemble in many respects the Asiatic family, by having adopted from the Arabs their system of secluding women from mixed society. The ancient Germans, on the contrary, respected and honoured women. The deve-

* See in Hakluyt's voyages, ed. 1589 (p. 346), a description of the manners of Russia, and the state of female society in 1567; also "certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Tubervile, out of Muscovia, which went as secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her majesties embassadour to the emperour 1568, to certaine friends of his in London, describing the manners of the country and people." (p. 408, 409.)

"For seldome when, unlesse on church or marriage day,
A man shall see the dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mews her to be sure, she lye by no man's side."

† See Philelph. Epist. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 116, 117.

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lopment of this principle produced the almost idolatrous gallantry of the chevaliers; the influence of it has extended to the present day, and by supplying an endless motive to exertion, has produced the modern European character. This cause indeed appears adequate to the production of that peculiar cast of character which distinguishes the European from the Asiatic. We court the attention of women by contrasting our appearance with theirs. The muscular strength of the man is not to be concealed under a load of effeminate drapery: the guardians and protectors of women should display superior strength. We sacrifice to their taste or caprice the beard, the distinctive ornament of our sex, the pride and boast of manhood; we assume a form less calculated to inspire respect and awe, but more compatible with feminine playfulness; and we endeavour, even in advanced age, to exhibit some faint resemblance of that happier and earlier period of life, which is peculiarly devoted to the service, and which is most blessed with the approbation, of the ladies. While in Turkey the naked front of age is imposed even upon the young men, with us the borrowed locks of youth conceal the ravages of

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time, and the venerable graces of old age yield to the vain attempt (absurd were it not ennobled by the motive) of still continuing to please. The sportiveness of youth is mimicked till it becomes ridiculous, because the temper of women is averse from gravity. It would be unnecessary to notice through all its effects the habitual intercourse of men with women. Whatever distinguishes the European from the Asiatic may be traced to this source. Hence even that cleanliness of anticipation which prevails in Europe, for which a periodical lustration from accumulated defilement is substituted in Asia.

It has been already shown, that erroneous regulations concerning women had introduced into Europe the manners of Asia, and we may observe from history, that in those cities of Asia where the rigour of these institutions had been unseasonably relaxed, a dissoluteness of manners prevailed, the necessary consequence of adopting, without due preparation, European manners, which can only be preserved in their purity when they are the natural result of refinement. In Antioch, the capital of the East, a contempt for female modesty and reverend age (the extremes into which European manners are

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most liable to fall) announced the general corruption. The *beard* of the emperor Julian became the subject of derision. The love of spectacles was the taste: private luxury and public amusements consumed the fortunes of the citizens and the public revenues. The licentiousness of the Greek was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrian, and the natives indulged in the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence*.

The preposterous civilization introduced into Russia generated similar consequences, and the court of Catherine the Second can be distinguished from the capital of Syria only by the grosser character of its debaucheries. In Russia the restraints under which women had lived for ages were suddenly broken down: the inconsiderate zeal of the reformers forced them into public life, and imposed on them the task of tempering and correcting the boorishness of men. But that superiority of reason which women, from their natural delicacy and temperance, are observed to retain in countries where the immoderate use of intoxicating liquors is the

* See Gibbon's Roman history, v. iv, p. 144.

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habitual vice of men; that harmless purity of conduct which seclusion tends to produce no less than virtuous principles; those mild virtues by which domestic life is purified and adorned; were unequal to stem the torrent of public corruption. The women, without principles of conduct adapted to public life or the new situation in which they were placed, without combination of means or concert among themselves, necessarily sunk under the influence of the general contagion; and the secret history of St. Petersburg presents us with a disgusting assemblage of the most degrading vices of men, rendered more odious from being exhibited under a female form.

In all climates and all countries where women exert their due influence, urbanity and civilization will be carried to the highest possible pitch. The improvement of society will always be adequate to the justice and wisdom of its institutions respecting women. In Lacedæmon, alone of all the states of Greece, the women were peculiarly honoured; and Xenophon declares, that the Spartans were superior to other men in the excellencies of mind and body. Where women are degraded from their rank in society, the European sinks into the Turk. Where the

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morality of women is perverted, the serious and manly virtues become the subject of ridicule. We triumph in our acknowledged superiority over the Asiatics, but we must, in justice, lay down our laurels, like the heroes of chivalry, at the feet of our mistresses. If we are destined by nature to advance nearer towards perfection, our energies can be excited only by the hope of gaining their favour and meriting their esteem.

Virtues of the middle class.

It is in the middle rank of life, among men subsisting by their own industry, and equally removed from poverty and riches, that we must look for the national character: and among the Turks of this class, the domestic and social virtues are united with knowledge adequate to their wants, and with patriarchal urbanity of manners. Honesty is the characteristic of the Turkish merchant, and distinguishes him from the Jew, the Greek, and the Armenian, against whose artifices no precaution can suffice. In the Turkish villages, where there is no mixture of Greeks, innocence of life and simplicity of manners are conspicuous, and roguery and deceit are unknown.

Intolerance is necessarily connected with a religion that is founded on dogmas which ar-

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rogate the honour of being infallibly true*. The haughty conceit of superiority appears as strong in the abject Jew, or in the Christian puritan, as in the most bigoted Turk: and if in our own country it now protrude itself chiefly above the surface of vulgar life, we must attribute its disappearance in other situations rather to the influence of manners and philosophy than to the spirit of religion, however mild.

Clothing of the Turks.

The Turks of the capital are somewhat removed from the simplicity of nature in their mode of clothing their new-born infants, whom they bind and swaddle so as necessarily to obstruct the motion of the principal organs of life, and to exhaust them with excessive perspiration; but they do not attempt by art nor dress to correct nor to improve the human shape. The clothes of persons of both sexes and of all ages, though more in quantity than the climate seems to require,

* "Insectatur vitia, non homines: nec castigat errantes, sed emendat." (Plin.) I am under the necessity of thus defining the meaning of the word which I have used (though, indeed, intolerance is seldom wholly free from the spirit of persecution), as the passage in the text, which I leave unaltered from a conviction of its being agreeable to uniform experience, has subjected me to some illiberal, but, in this age and nation, harmless animadversion.

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are free from ligatures. They neither confine the neck nor the waist, the wrist, the knees, nor the feet*; and though their clothes may encumber them in quick motion, yet they sit easily and gracefully upon them when walking with their usual gravity, or when reclining on the sopha. The turban is, however, a part of the Turkish dress which is not recommended by any convenience. It is apt to overheat the head by its bulk and weight; and its form is exceedingly inconvenient to a people, whose chief exercise and diversion are in horsemanship†.

* Doctor Buchan says, in his Domestic Medicine, that "almost nine tenths of mankind are troubled with corns: a disease that is seldom or never occasioned but by strait shoes." It is certain, that no such trouble is known in Turkey, where a disproportionate smallness of the foot is so far from being thought beautiful that every body has shoes much larger than his feet, and thereby preserves through life the proper form and free use of his toes; advantages which, according to Doctor Buchan, the natives of this country enjoy only for a few months after their birth.

† For a particular description of the Turkish costume, see Tab. Gén. t. iv, chap, ii, § 2. "Le turban dont on se couvre la tête, sert à caractériser les diverses classes de la nation, et les fonctions des officiers publics." "Les citoyens de Constantinople et ceux des provinces Européennes n'emploient communément à leurs turbans que de la mousseline blanche. Les Arabes se servent d'une toile bigarrée ou teinte d'une seule couleur, ainsi que les Egyptiens, les Syriens et les habitans de quelques contrées Asiatiques. Les Barbaresques s'en tiennent de préférence

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The use of the warm bath is universal among persons of both sexes and all classes, as well for the purposes of purification from worldly and carnal stains as for cleanliness and health. Some writers are of opinion, that it induces debility among the women. But in the men it certainly develops and invigorates the powers of the body. The Russians are wont to plunge themselves into cold water immediately on coming out of the hot bath; which I have seen them do (and I must confess with some degree of astonishment) in the severest winter, and exposed to the blast of the north-east. Busbequius's physician, an Hungarian, practised the same method as a medicine at Constantinople*; but such custom, if at all practised, is not usual among the Turks.

The warm bath.

à une étoffe de soie garnie de fils d'or. Les Tatars n'ont jamais porté qu'un bonnet de drap vert, avec une bordure de peau d'Astracan. Enfin dans quelques cantons de l'empire, les Mahométans se couvrent la tête d'un bonnet de drap garni de coton, sans mousseline. Quant aux sujets étrangers à l'Islamisme, ils sont tous obligés de porter un grand bonnet de peau de mouton noir, *calpack*, ou de se couvrir la tête d'une toile de couleur foncée. Cette dernière coëffure est presque générale en Egypte, en Syrie, et dans la plupart des provinces Asiatiques. Les insulaires Grecs de l'Archipel portent communément un bonnet de laine rouge ou blanc."

* "Idem me a balneo exeuntem frigida (aqua) perfundebat; quæ res, etsi erat molesta, magnopere juvabat." (Busbeq. Epist. i, p. 68.)

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The habitual use of the vapour bath is peculiar to that great Scythian family from the Tartar branch of which the Turks derive their origin. The Greeks and Romans, whose language from its resemblance to the modern Russian in terms essential to the very existence of society, proves a preceding relationship *, used the warm bath, as it is still used in the Russian and Turkish empires, from the northern extremities of Europe to the neighbourhood of the tropic; while the Gothic families, who overspread the western empire, suffered the vapour baths to fall into disuse †. But the custom itself is certainly derived from the north: the inhabitants of the temperate climates, and still more those in the southern latitudes, would naturally

* See the preface to L'Evêque's history of Russia. In addition to his examples, I need only mention the word *hostis*; which, as we learn from Cicero (Offic. l. i, c. 12), had formerly signified a *stranger*; and in the Russian language it is still used, with a guttural sound of the h, in the same sense. The English word guest seems to be derived from the same source. (See Bernardi Etymologicon, vo. guest.)

† The country of the ancient Germans is described by Tacitus as covered with woods and marshes, and the climate humid and unpleasant. The inhabitants on rising from sleep washed themselves with warm water because of the long duration of the winter: but in a moist and foggy country, where the body is naturally saturated with humidity, the use of the vapour bath is necessitated neither by luxury nor utility.

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prefer the refreshment of cold bathing. The Turks, however, whether they adopted or inherited the custom, found it established in the eastern empire, and perpetuated the use.

The public baths are elegant and noble structures, built with hewn stones: the inner chambers are capacious, and paved with slabs of the rarest and most beautiful marble. Savary has described the luxuries of an oriental bath, with an enthusiasm which nothing that I have experienced enables me to account for. A very comfortable sensation is communicated during the continuance in the heated rooms, and it is heightened into luxury when the bather reposes himself on a couch after the ablution. But delicious repose, though the highest gratification to a Turk, can be considered by the European only as rest from pain, and can never excite the raptures of actual pleasure.

A Turkish bath consists of several apartments: the entrance is into a spacious and lofty hall, lighted from above: round the sides are high and broad benches, on which mattresses and cushions are arranged: here the bather undresses, wraps a napkin about his waist, and puts on a pair of wooden

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sandals, before going into the bathing rooms.

The first chamber is but moderately warm, and is preparatory to the heat of the inner room, which is vaulted, and receives light from the dome. In the middle of the room is a marble estrade, elevated a few inches: on this the bather stretches himself at full length, and an attendant moulds or kneads the body with his hand for a considerable length of time. After this operation the bather is conducted into one of the alcoves or recesses, where there is a basin, supplied by pipes with streams of hot and cold water: the body and limbs are thoroughly cleansed by means of friction with a horse-hair bag, and washed and rubbed with a lather of perfumed soap. Here the operation ends: the bather stays a few minutes in the middle chamber, and covers himself with dry cotton napkins: thus prepared he issues out into the hall, and lies down on his bed for about half an hour.

Turkish luxuries and amusements.

The Turk, stretched at his ease in his pavillion on the banks of the Bosphorus, glides down the stream of existence without reflection on the past, and without anxiety for the future. His life is one continued and unvaried reverie. To his imagination the

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whole universe appears occupied in procuring him pleasure. The luxuriance of nature, and the labours of a tributary people spread out before him whatever can excite or gratify the senses; and every wind wafts to him the productions of the world, enriched by the arts, and improved by the taste, of industrious Europeans.

The luxuries of a Turkish life would sink however in the estimation of most people, on a comparison with the artificial enjoyments of Europe. The houses of the Turks are built in contempt of the rules of architecture: their gardens are laid out without order, and with little taste: their furniture is simple, and suited rather to the habits of a military or vagrant people, than to the usages of settled life: their meals are frugal, and neither enlivened by wine nor conversation. Every custom invites to repose, and every object inspires an indolent voluptuousness. Their delight is to recline on soft verdure under the shade of trees, and to muse without fixing their attention, lulled by the tinkling of a fountain or the murmuring of a rivulet, and inhaling through their pipe a gently inebriating vapour. Such pleasures, the highest which the rich can enjoy, are equally

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within the reach of the artisan or the peasant. Under their own vines and their own fig-trees, they equally feel the pride of independence, and the uninterrupted sweets of domestic comfort. If they enjoy not the anxieties of courtship, and the triumph over coyness and modesty, their desires are inflamed and their passions are heightened by the grace of motion, the elegance and suppleness of form, and the beautiful symmetry of shape and features. The education and modes of life of their women, though certainly too confined and too limited to domestic objects for the cultivation of talents which exercise and invigorate the powers of the mind, yet leave them all the charms which can result from nature, from sentiment, and truth.

Conversation. The Turks particularly delight in conversation; and their colloquial intercourse is ornamented with all the graces of a manly and polished style. Nothing can convey a more favourable idea of Turkish urbanity than to observe the natural and becoming gravity, the decent raillery, the sprightly turns of expression, and the genuine wit, with which they carry on discourse. In the long evenings of

Story-telling. *ramazan* a professed story-teller, *meddhé*,

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will entertain a large company in private assemblies, or in coffee-houses, with histories, which sometimes are pleasingly marvellous, as those of the Arabian nights, sometimes a ludicrous representation of foreign or rustic manners, and sometimes a political satire. Even the common people listen to them with pleasure, and criticise with taste and judgment the construction of the fable, the intricacy and development of the intrigue, the style and sentiments, the language and the elocution.

Ombres Chinoises.

The standard of delicacy varies so much in different countries, and even among the same people at different times, that it may be unfair to judge of past ages, or of foreign manners, by a strict comparison with our own established maxims. The *ombres Chinoises*, which in Turkey supply the want of dramatic exhibitions, are chiefly reserved for the entertainment of retired leisure. I have also seen them sometimes from the window of a coffee-house in a public street; though I confess I did not partake of the satisfaction which the populace so repeatedly expressed, at indecencies too ludicrously absurd to excite any other feeling than derision or disgust. Young men, born in the

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Dancers and gladiators.

Greek islands of the Archipelago, exercise the infamous profession of public dancers: they chiefly perform in the wine houses in Galata; but they, as well as public gladiators, who attack and defend themselves with a sword and a shield, are frequently hired to enliven the entertainment given at a marriage or a circumcision. The female dancers are Turkish women, of whom I know nothing but from description, and the imitation of their manner by other women*.

Athletic exercises.

Of other public amusements of which the Turks are willing spectators, the chief is

* "Les baladins *tschennguy* font consister leur talent, non à varier et à perfectionner leurs pas, mais à prendre différentes attitudes des plus obscènes. Plus ils y excellent, plus ils sont distingués dans la troupe et recherchés par la multitude." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 424.) "La danse n'étoit ni la peinture de la joie ni celle de la gaieté, mais celle d'une volupté qui arrive très rapidement à une lasciveté d'autant plus dégoûtante, que les acteurs, toujours masculins, expriment de la manière la plus indécente les scènes que l'amour même ne permet aux deux sexes que dans l'ombre du mystère." (Denon, voyage en Egypte, t. i, p. 155.)

"Les danseuses,—vêtues assez lestement, la tête toujours à demi couverte d'un voile, des castagnettes à la main, et les yeux tantôt languissans, tantôt étincelans,—se livrent avec plus d'expression encore que les jeunes baladins aux attitudes les plus libres et les plus obscènes." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 426.) "Leur danse (celle des femmes *almés*) fut d'abord voluptueuse: mais bientôt elle devint lascive: ce ne fut plus que l'expression grossière et indécente de l'emportement des sens. Une scène d'ivresse termina la danse." (Denon, t. i, p. 154.)

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wrestling. Sandys describes this game as he saw it at Acre in Syria. "Here wrastle they in breeches of oyled leather, close to their thighs: their bodies naked and anointed according to the ancient use, derived, as it should seem by Virgil, from the Trojans*. They rather fall by consent than by slight or violence." In Turkey the contest in wrestling is not, however, decided by a fall: the victory is determined by one of the parties being thrown on his back, and held in that posture while his adversary recovers his feet. When the wrestlers have finished the combat, or exhausted their strength, they give each other the kiss of peace.

To ride on horseback and to throw the *djerid*, a sort of light javelin, are considered as the necessary accomplishments of a Turkish gentleman. They are excellent horsemen, and throw the *djerid* with admirable dexterity and force. I know of no exercises fitter to give grace, strength, and agility to the body†. The young men contend with each

* "Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
Nudati socii." (Æn. l. iii, v. 281.)

† "*Djerid* signifie proprement *roseau*: ce nom se donne en général à tout bâton qu'on lance à la main, selon des principes qui ont dû être ceux des Romains pour le *pilum*.—Armés de ce

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other for superiority in exercises of force or address. A common amusement is to lift a weighty stone on the palm of the hand, and after running with it a few paces, to throw it to the greatest possible distance.

General health.

Physicians have observed, that "with no people is longevity more common or extended, nor health more constant;" and if we except the plague, that "Constantinople is not exposed to local disorders*." It may, however, be observed, that the symptoms of the plague are so inaccurately defined that it would be a source of endless error to attempt to relate all the appearances which it assumes. For my own part, without being so sceptical as Busbequius's physician, I am convinced, that, in nine instances out of ten, the reported cases of plague are a confession

The plague.

trait, les cavaliers entrent en lice, et courant à toute bride, ils se le lancent d'assez loin. Sitôt lancé, l'agresseur tourne bride, et celui qui fuit, poursuit et jette à son tour. Mais ce plaisir est dangereux, car il y a des bras qui lancent avec tant de roideur, que souvent le coup blesse, et même devient mortel." (Volney, voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, t. i, chap. x, § 4.)

* Dr. Dallaway, p. 16. Dr. Olivier, v. i, p. 157. "The Turks are certainly not subject to the multitude of diseases which infest some other nations. Sores and wounds are managed and healed with more facility." (Dr. Wittman's travels, p. 48.) See also an observation to the same effect in Dr. Pouqueville's travels, t. ii, p. 128.

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of ignorance on the part of the physician, or an over-anxiety on the part of the master of a family who is desirous of removing a diseased servant, of the nature of whose malady he is ignorant, and consequently apprehensive. It would be superfluous for me to attempt to add any thing to the observations of the physicians who have studied this disorder in Turkey or Egypt: though I may truly assert, that at Constantinople it excites but little alarm. I have myself, inadvertently however, made a visit to a person who was afterwards pronounced to have died of the plague. I sat for some time by his bed-side, and even took him by the hand; and as I gave way to no apprehension, I escaped without inconvenience.

A curious fact accidentally came to my knowledge, and if the conduct be not considered as the effect of blind inconsiderate resentment and thirst of revenge, it may serve to illustrate, though it cannot explain, the Turkish opinion of the doctrine of predestination. Major General Stuart had executed the orders of General Hutchinson, in expressing to the *capudan pasha*, more forcibly than by words, the resentment which honourable men must have felt at so flagrant a violation of the most sacred obligations as

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the murder of the *beys* of Egypt, for whose safety the British honour had been pledged. After the termination of the war, General Stuart was again sent by the British government on a mission to Egypt; and on passing through Constantinople he had an audience of the principal officers of state, and among others of the *capudan pasha*. Hussein had not forgotten the discipline which he underwent in Egypt, and in appointing a day for the reception of General Stuart at the arsenal, he meditated a singular scheme of vengeance. The plague raged with some violence, and the *pasha* ordered two persons dangerously ill to be brought to die in a small chamber, which was kept closely shut up till General Stuart should come. In this room the *pasha* received his visitors, with a confidence, as to himself, in over-ruling fatalism which it is difficult to account for. He was, however, disappointed in the event; for his preparations produced no further mischief than alarm to the Greek prince Callimachi, who, being acquainted with the circumstance, reluctantly performed the office of interpreter. I learned the story on the following day from a lady who visited

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the prince's family and had heard it from his own mouth*.

A person infected with the plague should endeavour to remove from his mind all vain terrors and pusillanimous apprehensions. For in no disease is the agency of the imagination more powerful to avert, or to induce, the greatest danger. I knew a lady who sickened immediately, and died with all the symptoms of the plague, on being informed, that a person, whom she had visited several days before, was dead of that disorder. The Turks, from temperance, from consequent robustness of constitution, and from firmness of mind, frequently escape after infection†.

* There still hangs over this infamous transaction, the murder of the Mameluke *beys*, a cloud of mystery which time perhaps will dispel. Dr. Wittman's journal exculpates the *capudan pasha* from being the sole author of this treachery: it was done, as he learned at Cairo, by order of the sultan. Certain it is, that the scheme was laid at Constantinople. On its failure, Mr. Straton, secretary of the British embassy at Constantinople, went to Egypt with a view to the reconciliation of the Turks and Mamelukes; but the latter thwarted the intentions of the negociators, by privately quitting Giza, and removing, for greater safety, to Upper Egypt. (See Dr. Wittman's travels, p. 381, 383, 386, 394, 395.)

† "Fortem posce animum, et mortis terrore carentem," should be the advice of the physician to a patient attacked by the plague. Fear not only disposes the body to the influence of the contagion, but counteracts all the means of cure. "La crainte

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In the Greek hospital, which is served by priests, the patient receives no assistance, unless from the consolations of religion. Various methods of treatment have been used, with different success; but no medicine, nor mode of treatment, has yet gained an established reputation. Busbequius's physician, who indeed seems to have doubted of the existence of the plague as a distinct disorder, considered *scordion*, or wild garlick, as a sovereign remedy, and applied it efficaciously as such. Mr. Baldwin recommended friction with oil, and an oiled shirt*. Dr. Valli, a

et la contagion sont une même chose, dit Vanhelmont. Gaubius met en doute si les peureux seuls ne sont pas exposés aux épidémies." (Pouqueville, voyage en Morée, &c. t. i, p. 402.) The particular example adduced by Dr. Pouqueville in confirmation of this theory (t. i, p. 417) I consider rather as a prolongation of his dedicatory epistle, than as an historical fact; although instances of such conduct, which the doctor challenges history to parallel, are so common in Turkey as to occur daily, and to pass unobserved.

* "A copious and comfortable perspiration was the result of this friction."—"Although I have to lament the failure of the oil in the cure of the plague, in the case of Gunner Cowden the artillery-man, yet I am induced to think it was useful in preventing infection to the three men confined in the lazaretto tent." (Dr. Witman's travels, p. 487, 488.) Mr. Jackson, in his history of the commerce of the Mediterranean (p. 64), says, that "the *coolies*, or porters employed in the oil stores in the kingdom of Tunis, seldom eat any thing but bread and oil: they

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Mantuan, who obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the plague by inoculating himself, observed, that indigo operated as a preventive. Whatever researches, however, are made, must come from foreigners. The indifference of the Turks counteracts all efforts to subdue the plague, and there is no interference of the police, even to prevent the Greek priests of the hospital from continuing the infamous traffic of selling the clothes of the persons who have died under their care *.

Europeans have sometimes ascribed the frequent appearance of the plague to a neglect of cleanliness. On the contrary I have always observed among the Turks the greatest attention to the performance of this duty, and am surprised to find in the writings of

smear themselves all over with oil, and their coat is always well soaked with it. Though the plague frequently rages in Tunis in the most frightful manner, destroying many thousands of the inhabitants, yet there never was known an instance of any of the *coolies* being affected by it."

* "Garlick, vinegar, opium, laudanum, mercury, perfumes, and, according to some, wine and strong liquors, are preservatives against the plague. Panadas, cordials, a light vegetable diet, and a strict regimen are usually employed as the means of cure. Broth is pernicious, and bleeding is almost always fatal. The patient seldom suffers beyond the third or fourth day; and out of an hundred infected persons, scarcely eight or ten escape death." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 386.)

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some respectable travellers, accusations of the contrary habit. When attention to personal cleanliness is prescribed by religion, we do indeed observe, that, although the letter of the precept be not transgressed, it is seldom strictly complied with, according to the intention of the lawgiver. It is, however, difficult to suppose, that the charge of filthiness can really attach to persons who wash their faces and limbs five times every day, and perform the ablution of the whole body once at least in every week*. In the interior of the Turkish houses the greatest attention is paid to cleanliness; the chamber floors are carpeted, or covered with Egyptian matting; and though it be a general custom to leave at the foot of the staircase the boots or sandals, so that the halls and galleries are seldom soiled or dirtied, yet the floorings of the houses are regularly washed every week. A traveller (who it may be supposed has taken up the opinion too hastily, since he describes the habits of the Turks from the state of a muddy Thracian village in the

* "It is however to be wished," says D'Ohsson (t. iv, p. 382), "that they would more frequently change their linen, and employ for some other parts of their dress only such stuffs as are capable of being washed."

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winter season) concludes, that they live in the midst of filth, breathing the very miasmata of the plague; and that the cause of this disease need not be sought for elsewhere than in their abominable negligence and nastiness*. A judgment so rash would seem scarcely to deserve the labour of confutation, were it not, that the charge which it contains is implied in some degree by D'Ohsson himself, who arranges his observations respecting the plague under the head of "cleanliness," and it is more directly countenanced by his admitting the suggestion, that "in Thrace this epidemical scourge may derive its existence from the unwholesome food and uncleanly habits of the people†." I can account for the seeming incon-

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 143.

† After having asserted, that "rien n'égale leur attention, dans l'un et l'autre sexe à se laver et à se baigner presque tous les jours, tant *pour satisfaire leur gout particulier* que pour obéir à la loi des lustrations;"—that "les maisons, les hôtels publics, les cafés, les boutiques, les magazins, les ateliers, les bains, &c. présentent par-tout un air de propreté;" D'Ohsson expresses a natural astonishment, that Europeans should judge so unfavourably of the Ottomans as to attribute to their inattention to cleanliness the periodical return of the plague and other epidemical distempers; and yet, in the very next page, the sentence occurs which I have inserted in the text. "Il n'entre pas dans le plan de notre travail, et les bornes de nos connoissances ne nous le

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gruity of D'Ohsson's remarks in the chapter to which I allude, only from the circumstance of his work having been prepared for publication by a native Frenchman, who has incorporated, in the general plan, opinions on this subject gathered from his own studies, without sufficiently attending to their incoherency with the result of D'Ohsson's observations*,

If the cause of the plague could be accurately ascertained, reason and nature would

permettent pas d'ailleurs, d'examiner si dans la Thrace cette funeste épidémie n'auroit pas *pour principe* la mauvaise nourriture et *la mal-propreté des habitans.*" (See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 382, 383, 384.)

* I have been informed, though I do not recollect by whom, that the unfortunate Rabaut de Saint-Etienne revised the 'Tableau général de l'empire Othoman.' He has indeed inscribed his name, as it were, in the preliminary discourse, where he particularly alludes to the favourite hypothesis of M. Bailly and himself, the existence of that primitive people from whom the most ancient nations, whose memorials or whose names have been transmitted to the present age, collected the fragments of science, which it is probable themselves had not discovered, since they were unable to reconstruct them, and which their predecessors alone seem to have formed into a connected system. "On admire," says the author of the Discours Préliminaire (whom no one that knows, can suspect to be, D'Ohsson), "On admire les progrès rapides de l'Europe Chrétienne dans toutes les parties des sciences. Elle a répandu la lumière sur les âges les plus reculés de l'antiquité, *dissipé les ténèbres qui couvroient le berceau des anciens peuples*; &c."

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point out the means of prevention and cure. The ancients, both Jews and Gentiles, confessed their ignorance of its origin, by calling it "the sacred malady," and considering it as an emanation of the divine wrath. The modern Greeks call the plague *thanatiko*, "the deadly," and the Turks, from an opinion, that its true name is an unlucky omen, more frequently call it *mubarek*, "the propitious," from the same motive that the Greeks denominated the Furies *Eumenides*, a name of similar signification. Volney, though he knew no parts of the Turkish empire besides Egypt and Syria, asserts, that Constantinople is the birth-place and principal seat of the plague, where it is perpetuated by the blind negligence of the Turks. But this opinion is controverted by the fact, that many of the French soldiers fell victims to the ravages of the plague during the period when Egypt remained in the power of the French, when its ports were blockaded, and all communication with other nations was cut off; while Constantinople was at the same time, in a great measure, free from the infection. The insalubrious state of a country and the impurity of the atmosphere seem best to account for the existence, or intro-

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duction, of the plague: but in inhabited countries, these physical evils are induced chiefly from moral causes. If the error of Agamemnon, the crime of a moment, drew down upon the Grecian army the vengeance of Apollo; if the sin of David brought pestilence upon the innocent house of Israel; how much more must the despotism of the Turkish government, a system at which nature revolts, excite the anger of heaven, and provoke the infliction of augmented evil! On every page of the Ottoman history is inscribed this instructive lesson, that not only the moral happiness of a nation is diminished, but even the sources of physical blessings are contaminated, in exact proportion to the injustice of its political institutions. "General health," says Raimond, "is inconsistent with extreme servitude." Under a tyrannical or vitiated government the culture of the earth is in a great degree neglected, the morasses are undrained, and the stagnant waters generate and diffuse corruption; the labour of the people is limited to procure only the necessary means of supporting animal life; their food is insufficient and unwholesome; their cottages are low and humid; their habitations are lurking places,

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chosen with no regard to healthiness of situation. It is in such countries, that we find the plague and the leprosy, with all their horrible concomitants, raised to an eminence superior even to that of the tyrant, and subjecting alike to their sway the oppressor and the oppressed. In Greece, while its inhabitants breathed freedom, the plague was transient or unknown. In Egypt, while wisdom tempered the harshness of its laws, the wind of the desert blew only temporary destruction*; and though the periodical inundations of the Nile covered the whole surface of its valley, yet human industry, stimulated and encouraged by a provident government, drew fatness from its luxuriance, but averted the noxious effects of its exhalations. It has been calculated, that during the existence of the Roman republic, a mean period of twenty-one years elapsed between each return of those epidemical distempers, which, from their general diffusion over Italy and Europe, and their fatal consequences, may in some degree be denominated

* "Seroit-il hors de vraisemblance de dire que la peste est une émanation mortifère du vent de *samm*." (Pouqueville, t. i. p. 406.)

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pestilential. From Augustus Cæsar to the year of Christ 1680, there were ninety-seven plagues; but the mean interval between each is reduced to the term of seventeen years. Since that period, the progress of civilization among the states of Europe has re-established order in government, and opposed a barrier to epidemical disorders. The period in the history of Europe the most fertile in calamities, lies between the years 1060 and 1480, and is marked with thirty-two destructive plagues: their common interval is twelve years. But in the fourteenth century, the age when disorder and distress had attained their greatest height, Europe had been wasted with fourteen fatal and almost universal plagues. In the two next succeeding centuries governments began to re-assume their vigour, and removed to a greater distance this common curse of the human race, the scourge of tyranny in governors, no less than of slavish submission in the people. In the seventeenth century the plague became still less frequent, until at length it has entirely disappeared from civilized and Christian Europe: and if Europeans still possess wisdom and virtue sufficient to secure their liberties on a solid basis, we may confidently

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hope, that its ravages will be eternally removed from our borders. May Englishmen at least, since Liberty has fixed her favourite residence in this happy island, still listen to her salutary admonitions, and cherish, in its first principles, that vigour of mind and body which she alone can bestow. Hygeia herself is but the handmaid of Liberty. The sacrifice which she requires, the incense whose fragrance she most delights in, is the happiness of her votaries; the gayety of youth, the temperate cheerfulness of manhood, and the serene comforts of declining life. It is Liberty alone, whose breath disperses the noxious vapours, whose smile dispels contagion from the atmosphere, who spreads her plentiful table, and invites her children to that temperate luxury, that semi-epicurism which best contributes to habitual cheerfulness, and is the acknowledged preventive of infection and disease*.

Mourning, or any external expression of grief, is considered as a murmuring against the dispensations of Providence, and repro- Mourning.

* I am chiefly indebted to Raimond, as well for the facts as the reasoning respecting the origin of the plague. (See Histoire de l'éléphantiasis, page 104, quoted by Dr. Pouqueville in his chapter "De la peste," t. i, p. 419.)

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bated by law and custom. The mother, however, is allowed to lament the death of her son, and to mourn for three days; and though all restrain their feelings, and at most indulge in melancholy, yet they decorate the tombstones of their parents, their children, or their friends, with epitaphs which express their fondness and affection, the regret which they feel, and the disconsolate situation in which they are left. They divert their melancholy by prayers, and other acts of devotion, for the relief of the departed soul; and are frequently seen kneeling by the side of a new made grave, and performing their pious supererogations*.

* The prayer peculiarly consecrated to the burial service of the Mahometans is as follows. "Have mercy, O God, on the living and dead, the present and absent, the great and small, the males and females, among thy servants. May those to whom thou hast given life, live and die in the belief and profession of Islamism. May this thy servant deceased enjoy, through thy mercy, peace and rest. Pour upon him the blessings of thy grace and favour. Increase the merit of his good deeds if he be found in the number of the just, and blot out his iniquities if he have sinned before thee. Grant him, O God, peace and salvation; let him approach, and continually dwell before, thy eternal throne. Save him from the torments of the tomb, and the punishment of everlasting fire. Let him be numbered among the blessed in Paradise. Let his tomb be a place of refreshment and delight. Have mercy upon him, O thou whose attribute is mercy."

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They hasten to relieve the sufferings of the soul on its quitting the body, by almost immediate interment, and never willingly defer the burial till the morrow of the decease*. Such precipitation must sometimes be productive of the most dreadful consequences; and the evil is further extended by the practice being imitated by the Jews, and by the Greek and Armenian Christians. Interments and funeral monuments.

The Turks conceal the body, during its passage to the place of interment, under a shell or coffin, called *tabut*, at the head of which is the turban, or muslin, denoting the rank, or sex, of the person. It is carried to the grave by the friends of the deceased; a duty enjoined by the prophet, who has declared, that he who carries a dead body the space of forty paces, procures for himself the expiation of a great sin. The graves are shallow, and the body is protected from the immediate pressure of the earth by thin

* « On ne doit pas différer la sépulture d'un fidèle décédé; et cela en vertu de ces paroles divines: ' Hâtez-vous d'inhumer vos morts, pour qu'ils puissent jouir aussitôt de la béatitude éternelle, s'ils sont décédés dans la vertu et dans l'élection; et qu'au contraire, s'ils sont morts dans le vice et dans la réprobation, vous écartiez loin de vous des ames condamnées au feu de l'enfer.' » (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 298.)

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boards placed over it obliquely. The Greeks and Armenians carry the body through the streets dressed up in its greatest finery, and on the burying ground enfold it in a winding sheet. I have myself met a procession returning with the body of a Greek exposed on a bier, which, on the brink of the grave, had given signs of life; and I have heard of bodies being interred notwithstanding unequivocal symptoms of animation. De Tott, with his usual levity and exaggeration, says, that "in the Turkish burying grounds the voices of some unhappy people have been heard from beneath; and they were left to perish for want of immediate relief, which was withheld that the fees of interment might not be restored."

The tomb-stone at the head of a man's grave is erect, and decorated with a turban carved in stone, which distinguishes it from that of a woman. The cemetery is a wood of cypresses, as a tree is planted near every new grave. All persons, except the sultan's families and some few of high rank, are buried without the cities; and as a grave is never opened a second time, a vast tract of the country is occupied by the burying fields, among which one at the head of the

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harbour, supposed to contain the remains of Ayub, a companion of Mahomet, who fell in the first siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, and was esteemed a saint and martyr, is distinguished by a great number of elegant mausolea, *turbé*. Those on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus are preferred by many persons, because the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus, are situated in that quarter of the world.

The epitaphs contain the name and quality of the deceased, the day of his death, and an exhortation to the passenger to repeat the introductory chapter of the *koran*, *fatihha*: they represent death as the term of human misery, congratulate the deceased on his happiness, and compare his soul to a nightingale of paradise. "May the Eternal deign to envelop his soul in a cloud of mercy and gladness, and cover his tomb with the brightness of divine light." On the tomb-stones of their children, the parents bewail their affliction, and complain, that death has plucked the rose from the garden of beauty, has torn the tender branch from the parent stock, and left a father and a mother to consume the remainder of their lives in bitterness and wo.

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CHAPTER VIII.

WOMEN, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Distribution of apartments in Turkish families.—Subjection of the women;—and their privileges.—Marriage.—Polygamy and divorce.—Reciprocal duties of the husband and wife.—Domestic arrangements.—Household establishment of the women.—House furniture, and mode of life.—Amusements,—occupations,—and character of the Turkish women.—Primary motives for the seclusion of women.—Inquiry as to its effects in promoting marriages,—in enforcing the observance of the conjugal duties,—in influencing the public character.—Persons and dress of the women.—Harems of Turkish gentlemen,—and grandees.—Imperial harem.—Titles and degrees of precedency among the ladies.—Domestics and guards of honour.—State of the women.—Princesses of the blood.—The slave-market.—Public women.—Eunuchs.

Distribution of apartments in Turkish families.

THE Turks, in their families, allot certain apartments to the women, which they distinguish by the name of *harem*, a word signifying a sacred retreat, a place of privacy and security, from which all men are excluded except the master of the family. Ac-

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cess is interdicted even to the nearest male relations of the woman, except at seasons of public, or on occasions of private, rejoicing, when the father and father-in-law, the brothers, and the uncles are admitted to offer their congratulations in a short and ceremonious visit*. The women in Turkey are thus strictly confined to the society of their own sex, and the very few males whom the law allows them to see with impunity. The apartments of the men are called *selamlik*, or apartments for the reception of visitors†.

Subjection of the women.

The European, familiarized with the idea of the natural equality of the sexes, looks with pity on the situation of the women throughout the Turkish empire, and almost the whole continent of Asia. Instead of being those associates of man by whom his affections are softened and his manners are refined, he sees them converted into the

* "Fratribus quidem earum videndi facultas permittitur: at maritorum fratribus non item." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 121.)

"Les plus proches parens, tels que les frères, les oncles, les beaux-pères, n'y sont reçus qu'à certaines époques de l'année, c'est-à-dire, dans les deux fêtes de *beyram*, et à l'occasion des noces, des couches, et de la circoncision des enfans." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 318.)

† The word *harem* signifies not only the women's apartments, but also the female part of a Turkish family taken collectively.

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merest instruments of his will or of his appetites. Controlled in all their inclinations, restrained in all their actions, watched over with indelicate observance, and forcibly constrained to regulate their life and behaviour so as to obtain the partial, and fugitive favour of an imperious, and perhaps a detested master; exposed to insult and caprice, to the torment of jealousy, or the hopelessness of ungratified desire; in some instances, torn from their parents, from the guardians of their infancy and the companions of their youth, cut off from hopes innocently but imprudently indulged, exposed to sale like the inferior classes of animals, and fluctuating, according to the caprice of their lord, between the situation of his servant or his mistress. In the most favourable point of view, the situation of the woman appears little to be envied: her husband, though constant in his affection, and dear to her from motives of gratitude and duty, is her only male acquaintance; and he must of necessity be frequently absent. She cannot be seen abroad with him, nor he remain constantly at home with her; his occupations or his amusements will draw him from the listless and unvaried scene of the *harem;* while

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his wife, without any knowledge of literature or the arts, has no relief but in the duties of her household and family. The care of her person, more than personal comfort requires, must be irksome, since, however adorned, it can excite no other passion than envy in female bosoms.

To an European lady, duties so exercised must appear painful, and such pleasures insipid. To drink coffee and eat sweetmeats, to play at chess and view the ludicrous movements of a puppet-show, to perform ablutions and repeat set forms of prayer, would augment, instead of dissipating, the wearisomeness of existence; and yet, from the earliest period of history, the women of Asia have submitted, without a murmur, to these rigorous institutions; and the same, or nearly the same system was established in Athens and in Rome, and subsisted until the degeneracy of manners and the progress of luxury had tarnished the glory, and sapped the foundations of these illustrious republics.

and their privileges.

It is an incontrovertible truth, that western Europe owes its high refinement to the liberty of women, and their consequent influence on public manners. But I by no means think, that the happiness of Asia would be

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increased, or its virtue improved, by such an adoption of European customs: Nay I even suspect, that, if so important a change could be effected, the women themselves would find it only a small cause of congratulation. It must not be supposed, that the Turkish women are confined to their houses: on the contrary, women of all ranks indulge themselves in frequent parties abroad, on foot, in boats, or in carriages. At every public exhibition, at which women can with any propriety appear, they form the most numerous part of the spectators, and always occupy the most advantageous situation*.

* "The ladies go in coaches to see the camp as eagerly as ours did to that of Hyde-park." (Lady M. W. Montagu's letters, v. ii, p. 181.)

The manners of the Orientals are so strict in every thing which regards the women that no information on this subject can be obtained by inquiries. It must be by experience and observation alone, that the historian can hope to obtain a glimpse of the Turkish economy. I would not advise the traveller to repeat the bold experiment of Mr. Gell, and explore, at an unseasonable hour and with some little infringement of the laws of hospitality, the secrets of the *harem*. The imitation of Ranger should I think be confined to our theatres: but, unless the observer possess something of the "quidlibet audendi" of Europeans, he will be liable to fall into the same errors as D'Ohsson, who, born a *rayah*, and educated in slavish principles, could never dare to fix his eyes upon a Turkish woman, or to divest himself of respect for the cudgel, the symbol of Turkish authority. "Women

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If the women are deprived of the society of the men, they suffer no more than the men do from want of intercourse with them. The married women are mistresses of all the domestic arrangements, are perfectly uncontrolled in the selection of their female acquaintance, and in the choice of suitable amusements. The possessions of the wife, whether originally her own or the gift of her husband, are sacredly preserved as her exclusive property, and can upon no account be reclaimed by the husband, or be confiscated to the state, though the whole of his fortune, and even his life, be doomed to forfeiture*. Instances have even occurred where

of a certain rank," he says (t. iv, p. 321), "seldom appear in public: they even consider it as derogatory to their dignity to go abroad, unless they are obliged to do so by some indispensable necessity. One seldom meets any Turkish women in the streets, except those of the inferior classes, and they are always closely veiled, observing the strictest circumspection, and never speaking to any person, even their nearest relations if they should chance to meet them. It would be the height of indecency in a man to stop and gaze at them; and if he should so far forget himself as to utter an equivocal expression, or take the least liberty, nothing could save him from the pursuit of the city-guards, or the resentment of the people, who would beat him to death as a just punishment for his temerity."

* "Upon the whole," says Lady M. W. Montagu (v. ii, p. 124), "I look upon the Turkish women as the only free people

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the husband, by making over a great part of his property to his wife in order to secure it from the grasp of power, has become dependent upon her for his very subsistence. The wife may bequeath by will the whole of her property, however acquired, without any restraint or limitation. In case of her dying intestate, the law allots a certain proportion of her estate to the surviving husband, and regulates the disposal of the remainder among the relations of the deceased.

If the wife have never been gratified with the assiduities and adulation of courtship and gallantry, she is however recompensed by the respect and attentions of her children; for from the sovereign to the lowest subject, the name of mother is never mentioned but with reverence, and the warmest affection is evinced in the discharge of the filial duties.

in the empire; the very *divan* pays respect to them, and the grand signor himself, when a *pasha* is executed, never violates the privileges of the *harem* (or women's apartments), which remains unsearched, and entire to the widow. They are queens of their slaves, whom the husband has no permission so much as to look upon, except it be an old woman or two that his lady chooses:"—" neither have they much to apprehend from the resentment of their husbands, those ladies that are rich having all the money in their own hands."

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The duty of children towards their parents is acknowledged and inculcated both by the precepts of the *koran*, and the example of Mahomet. In his early infancy the prophet was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; but one of the few miracles which he performed, was the calling of his mother Emineh from the tomb, in order that she might believe in his mission, and be no longer excluded from the enjoyment of paradise*. "The decree of Mahomet," says Gibbon, "that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian†."

Marriage is considered by the Turks merely as a civil contract. It derives its validity from the authority and registration of the *cadi*, or the magistrate of the district before whom it is solemnized, not however by the parties themselves, as neither the bride, nor any female, attends at the ceremony: the deed is executed by proxies, and signed by witnesses, who are usually the nearest relations of the two families, the *imam* of the Marriage.

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 199.

† See Rom. hist. v. ix, p. 323.

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parish, and a few friends of the parties. The presence of the *imam*, or priest, is essential in no other respect; though, in order to give additional solemnity to the ceremony, he is generally employed to pronounce a nuptial benediction on the new married couple. The contract of marriage, which is drawn up with due formality, contains a stipulation of the dowery to be settled on the wife, in the event of her surviving her husband or being repudiated by him; but to which she forfeits her claim by soliciting a divorce. The contract also contains an account of the marriage portion and other property belonging to the wife, which, in case of her death or separation, must be restored or accounted for agreeably to the inventory. Marriage differs from concubinage only in this stipulation of a dowery, or settlement: and the privilege which it confers on the woman, is only the establishment of her exclusive claim to the caresses of her husband on the evening of *djumm 'a guiun*. If this duty be complied with, his irregularity at other times is not legally a ground of complaint*. The

* *Djumm 'a guiun* is the name of the day which commences at sunset on Thursday, and ends at the same hour on Friday.

" Una nox singulis hebdomadibus diei Veneris apud eos festi,

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children of the bondwoman and the free are equally legitimate*. In addition to marriage and concubinage, there is another peculiar mode of cohabitation in Turkey, which is seldom practised: this is called *kapin*, and is a contract obligatory on the parties for a limited time, fixing the period of their union and the conditions of their separation, and recognizing the duties to be performed by the father towards the children.

Polygamy and divorce are authorized by the law of Mahomet; but the Turks, without much speculative reasoning on the sub- Polygamy

uxori reservatur, qua sine querela defraudare eam maritus non potest; cæteræ noctes ejus arbitrii sunt." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 122.)

Dr. Johnson's Irene, who proposed, when she should be queen, to restore the splendour of the cities, rebuild the palaces, and even authorize the public exercise of the religion, of the Greeks, was not aware of the very limited portion of authority to be conferred upon her by her marriage with the sultan.

* "There are many among the Turks," says D'Ohsson (t. iv, p. 343), "who prefer the society of their female slaves to the restraints of matrimony. In Europe these women are improperly termed concubines, since their connexion with their masters is permitted, and their children are no less legitimate than those of the wife." I know not whether the circumstances mentioned by D'Ohsson will be considered as sufficient to remove all slur or reproach from the character of these ladies, and I cannot suppose, that he attaches the same ideas to his words as Europeans usually do, when he asserts (p. 346), that "to live with a mistress is an irregularity unknown among Mahometans."

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ject, seldom resort in practice to institutions so injurious to the interests of society. In instances of polygamy all the wives are either purchased slaves or women of an inferior condition to the husband, and they rank in estimation according to the number, or the sex, of their children; but if a man have married a woman of equal rank with himself, she constantly retains her dignity; and if she admit of rivals, which is frequently guarded against by the marriage contract, they either have a separate and inferior establishment in the same *harem*, or live with her as her servants *.

and divorce. Divorces seldom take place; incompatibility of temper is the less felt as the parties do not from custom live much together. The usual, and only allowable, cause for divorce in our country would meet with severer reprobation in Turkey, and the marriage would be dissolved by the death of the party offending †. The husband who inflicts the

* "Lorsque le *harem* est composé de plusieurs femmes, chacune a sa table particulière, attendu que, dans l'économie domestique, tout est absolument distinct et séparé entre elles. Cet ordre étoit nécessaire pour éviter les tristes effets de la jalousie et de la rivalité. Il est peu d'exemples que deux femmes vivent ensemble." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 31.)

† "Si invenirem hominem aliquem cum mea uxore, certe occiderim cum gladio absque ulla misericordia.—Id cum relatum

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punishment of instant death on his inconstant wife, is not only held innocent by the law, but may even found his claim to the inheritance of her property on the murder which he himself has committed. Mercy and forgiveness are, however, recommended by the example of the prophet. His favourite wife *Aïsché* or Ayesha (between whose age and that of Mahomet there was indeed a disparity of forty years) inconsiderately stepped from the litter in which she usually followed her husband in his military expeditions, and absented herself for a moment in a neighbouring wood. Neither the venerable character of her husband, nor the purity of her own intentions could preserve her conduct from calumny. The prophet divorced her on his return to Medina, but after a few days, readmitted her to his embraces, on being assured of her innocence by a divine revelation, *ayeth*. The heretical Persians still persist in traducing her reputation; but the Turks religiously reject the insinuation, that her fond husband was only duped into the disbelief of her infidelity.

fuisset legato Dei Mahumeto, dixit, cur admiramini de zelotypia Saad? Ego sum magis zelotypus quam Saad, et Deus majorem zelotypiam habet quam ego." (Maracci, p. 66.)

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Sterility, which entails more disgrace amoung the Turks than with us, is the chief cause of divorces. The wife too, if she have cause to complain either of neglect of conjugal duties, or of the want of the necessaries of life, or of the commission or apprehension of violence, may appeal to the law and obtain a divorce*. The husband who has formally repudiated his wife, cannot take her

* "In causis quibus divortium mulieribus permissum hæ continentur: si mariti debitis eas alimentis fraudent; item si præter naturæ præscriptum (quod nefas Turcis familiare) eis abuti conentur. Tunc ad judicem profectæ se non posse diutius apud maritum manere testantur: judice causam quærente, nihil respondent, sed exutum pede calceum invertunt. Id judici abominandæ veneris indicium est." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 122.) The censure contained in this passage, which I believe to be false or at least to be much exaggerated, is considerably extenuated by the explanation which the Chevalier d'Arvieux gives of the method adopted by women to announce to the magistrate their dislike of their husbands, or their dissatisfaction with his conduct. Baron Busbeck's authority is of less weight, as he derived his information chiefly from his interpreters; whereas the Chevalier d'Arvieux was intimately acquainted both with the language and the manners of the Turks. "Lorsque les femmes ne sont pas contentes de leurs maris, et qu'elles demandent la dissolution de leur marriage, elles vont trouver le *cadi* l'audience tenant; elles déchaussent un de leurs souliers, et le renversent le dessus dessous, pour marquer ce qu'elles n'oseroient dire. Le *cadi* envoye aussitôt chercher le mari, il entend les raisons de part et d'autre, et si la femme persiste à demander la dissolution du marriage, il la condamne à perdre sa dot, rompt le contrat de marriage, et lui permet de chercher un autre mari." (Memoires, t. i, p. 449.)

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again until she have been remarried and again divorced*. The law not only justifies whatever means a woman may adopt to preserve herself from shame or injury, but even commands her to employ poison, if it be necessary, in order to protect her honour from violence. The same privilege is extended to the wife, who, after having been separated from her husband by the ceremony of divorce, finds herself compelled to resist his usurpation of the privileges which he has renounced.

Reciprocal duties of the husband and wife.

Mahomet himself, a man of warm imagination, disposed to enthusiasm which necessarily heightens the passions, and naturally a lover of women, did not deprive them of their due rank and honour, either in civil society, or in the delights of paradise. The *koran* expressly declares, that in the future distribution of rewards and punishments God will make no distinction of sexes; but the prophet does not insult the modesty of women by unveiling to their imagination a paradise of sensual bliss. The dangerous secret

* See in the memoirs of the chevalier d'Arvieux (t. i, p. 453), a curious and well-authenticated instance of the enforcement of this law, with its peculiar conditions and extraordinary ceremonies.

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was left to be divulged in modern times, and the grave Montesquieu has exhibited, in his description of the female elysium, all the aids and instruments of luxury. A meadow of lively verdure, enamelled with beautiful flowers, first receives the victim who has escaped from an earthly *harem*; a rivulet meanders through the midst, the birds warble in the surrounding groves, and a superb palace, placed in a magnificent garden, terminates the prospect, and contains within its walls the company of celestial youths whose occupation through eternity is only to contribute to her amusement*.

Mahomet, knowing the influence of women over men, exhorted his followers not to marry unconverted polytheists†; but he provided for the connubial happiness of the female believers by impressing on the husband the sanctity of the conjugal embrace, and the sin of neglecting it. The man is reminded of the necessity of performing this sacred

* Lettres Persannes, lettre cxli. "Je vous demande grace, leur disoit Zuléma, car je vois bien que vour êtes gens à n'en demander jamais."

† Mussulmans are strictly prohibited from forming alliances with idolaters. The faithful may marry Jewish or Christian women, and their children must be Mussulmans; but the female believer is forbidden to unite herself with an infidel.

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duty by the comparison which is drawn between it and our daily and necessary occupations. "Your wives," says the writer of the *koran*, "are as your garments;" garments not to be laid aside even in the month of *ramazan*, the season of fasting and penitence: and, in another passage, "your wives are your tillage, labour therein for the good of your souls*." The wives are enjoined to honour their husbands; but the husband is instructed to return the honour, diminished however by one degree, a gradation not very easily to be ascertained. The harsh measure of divorce is recommended to be tempered by the gentlest mode of execution, and to be softened by benefits and presents. Whatever has been given to the wives they retain; and after waiting the legal period of four months, or a longer period of convention during which their maintenance is provided

* "Voilà des préceptes qui rendent la vie d'un véritable Musulman bien laborieuse. Celui qui a les quatre femmes établies par la loi et seulement autant de concubines, ou d'esclaves, ne doit-il pas être accablé de tant de vêtemens?" (Lett. Pers. lettre cxiv.)

"Non è cosa, che non tentino pel fomite alla libidine, valendosi fuor di misura d'ogni rimedio violento, che à quell' intento non giova; e pregiudica alla salute." (Marsigli, stato milit. dell' imp. Ottom. t. i, p. 87.)

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for, they are at liberty to seek for a more sedulous, or less capricious, partner.

Domestic arrangements.

Hume supposes, that the Asiatic manners are destructive of social intercourse, and that no one dares introduce a friend to his house or table, lest he should bring home a rival; but in this he is mistaken. The household establishments are separate and unconnected; and the Turk, like Hume's epicurean, quits the conversation of his friends and the pleasures of the table for the company of his wife or mistress, in a distinct suite of apartments.

Household establishment of the women.

An incorrect and humiliating idea is conveyed, though perhaps unintentionally, of the Turkish *harem*, by the assertion, that "females among the Turks lead a gregarious life, and are associated together in small apartments*." A numerous *harem* can however be collected only in the palaces of the richest and greatest of the Turks, and whatever privations, in other respects, the women may suffer, they are certainly not huddled together as a flock, nor penned up in small apartments.

House furniture, and mode of life.

In a Turkish house there are no chambers exclusively appropriated as bed rooms: the

* Dallaway, Constant. ancient and modern, p. 107.

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usual way of sleeping is on a light mattress, which is spread on the sopha or in the middle of the chamber, and sometimes in the gallery, according to the season of the year and the temperature of the weather. Neither men nor women lie down completely undressed, but have night-dresses, resembling, except in the inferior quality of the materials, the under-clothes which they wear in the day. The bed-furniture, which in its greatest perfection consists but of a quilted coverlet, a sheet, and a pillow, is laid up during the day in a closet or press, with which every chamber is provided. Every room in a Turkish house serves for every purpose; and the furniture, in all, differs only in fineness of quality or richness of ornament. The sopha extends round three sides of the chamber on a frame raised a few inches from the floor. The *minder*, or mattresses, as well as the cushions, are stuffed with wool, and smaller cushions for the more distinguished guests are filled with cotton. The *macat*, or covering, is of woollen or silk stuff, bordered with a deep fringe, and the cushions are of velvet, or of gold and silver tissue. The floor is covered, according to the season, with carpets or Egyptian mat-

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ting, except a small part near the entrance, where the *papuches*, or slippers, are put off. The use of chairs and tables is almost unknown.

The dinner is served up on a large circular tray of copper, tinned, which is placed on a low stool, at a corner of the sopha, and the guests sit round it cross-legged, the youngest or least honourable sitting on cushions placed on the floor. The service is conducted with great simplicity. The dishes are brought to table singly, and succeed each other, sometimes to the number of twenty or thirty, with such celerity as to allow little time for selection or indulgence. Instead of a table cloth a long napkin is spread over the knees of the guests. The chief of the family serves himself with the fingers of his right hand, and invites the company to follow his example. They make no use of plates, nor even of knives and forks. Mahomet severely inveighs against luxury or expense in the table furniture. "Verily," he says, "the fire of hell will roar like the lowings of a camel in the bellies of those who eat and drink from vessels of gold or silver*."

* See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 102.

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In the ladies apartments the *tanndur* usually occupies the corner of the sopha during the winter months, and besides being used for warmth, answers all the purposes of a table and a toilette. The *tanndur* is in the form of a table, of the height of two or three feet, with a bottom on which is placed a chafing dish of earthenware or copper, containing a small quantity of hot ashes. The company sit around it, with their legs under the carpet or quilted coverlet which is thrown over it. D'Ohsson supposes, that European ladies would willingly adopt it, and would experience less inconvenience from the moderate heat of the *tanndur* than from the brisk action of the chimney-fire. Olivier, who was at Pera in the year 1794 when the French were separated from "la bonne société," describes the *abuses* of this utensil in the families of the inferior Greeks and Franks. I believe, that this singular invention is peculiar to Constantinople and its neighbourhood, as the use of it does not extend beyond the sea-coast of Asia Minor, nor to the northward beyond the Danube. Its heat, which is confined under the coverlets, is moderate and agreeable; but being unequally diffused, and directed chiefly to the legs and feet, besides injuri-

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ously affecting those parts, disposes the body more easily to catch cold. In most houses there is no chimney except in the kitchen. Persons of rank or property easily brave the severity of the winter in their spacious apartments, wrapt up in the most costly and comfortable furs: sometimes a chafing dish, called *mangal*, is placed in the centre of the chamber; but the use of the *tanndur* is general in the boudoirs of the *harem* *.

Amusements,

Smoking is an universal custom in the Turkish *harem*, but Lady Mary Wortley Montagu prudently excludes so disgusting a particular from her portrait of the Turkish ladies. I cannot assert from experience, that the most offensive consequence of this custom is corrected by the chewing of mastic, which, it is supposed, whitens and preserves the teeth, and by stimulating the salival glands, assists digestion. Coffee and confections, which in Turkey are delicious, are taken as elegant and necessary refreshments, and are always presented to visitors. Sherbet and perfumes are more ceremoni-

* See Lady M. W. Montagu's letters, v. ii, p. 219. Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 175. Olivier's travels, v. i, p. 149.

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ously introduced, as denoting greater respect *.

The more elegant occupations of the *harem* are working in embroidery, and superintending the education of young ladies, who are taught to express themselves with the greatest purity and correctness of language, to read, and to write a neat and legible hand. These qualifications are indispensable to the education of a lady of fashion; and singing, dancing and music, are also considered as polite occupations,

* Dr. Dallaway visited the palace of Bey-han Sultan on the European shore of the Bosphorus, "where," he says (p. 140), "a confection of exquisite flavour was offered, called the *conserve of rubies*, as well from the richness of the other ingredients, as that *pounded rubies* were a part of the composition. So capricious are their preparations in the confectionary art." The fact, since Dr. Dallaway asserts it, cannot be called in question; but we must surely admire the *dura ilia* of the delicate sultana. D'Ohsson (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 73) mentions a similar composition, *djewahir-madjouny*, electuary of precious stones: but I am so incredulous as to suppose, that both these gentlemen have been misled by a sounding name. I indeed discover, from the writings of the Christian historians of the Ottoman empire, that pounded diamonds have sometimes been made use of by the sultans; for it is related, that Selim the First administered a dose of this confection to his father, by the hands of a Jewish physician whose head he immediately caused to be cut off, and so efficacious was this preparation in the confectionary art that Bajazet died on the road before he could reach Demotica, the place of his banishment. (See D'Herbelot, bibliothèque Orientale, p. 801.)

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accomplishments. Whether their dances be of the same character as those of the professed actresses, I cannot pretend to determine: they certainly are not all so, and I should think they rather resemble the *romaika*, or choral dances of the Greek women *.

and character of the Turkish women.

Such are the studies and qualifications of young ladies of the superior ranks, whose leisure and fortune enable them to acquire those elegant arts which constitute the distinguishing characteristics of polished society, or render them delightful companions in retirement. They are also most carefully instructed in the decorum of manners and every thing belonging to the dignity of their rank in life, as well as in those arts which add poignancy to their personal attractions. The amiable character of their sex is not perverted by their institutions: and if their soft and voluptuous caresses excite desire, the flame is cherished and refined by their native delicacy, their gentleness, their modesty, and engaging sensibility. They are

* The account here given differs considerably from that of the Chevalier D'Ohsson (See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 333). But as I have it from persons engaged to give lessons to young ladies in the empress-dowager's palace, I think there can be no reason to doubt the veracity of it.

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endeared to their husbands by the exercise of all the conjugal and parental duties, and the charm which they diffuse over every circumstance and change of life. Can we refuse them the virtues of compassion and humanity, when Denon tells us, that, during the insurrection at Cairo, an old lady in the neighbourhood, in spite of national resentment and religious prejudices, offered her *harem* to a number of Frenchmen as an asylum against the fury of the populace*? Or can any thing more excite our admiration of the Turkish women than the heroic behaviour of those who survived the storming of Oczakow? It was on the festival of Saint Nicholas in the month of December, in a winter unusually severe, that about four hundred Turkish women were put under the superintendance of Mr. Eton, and huddled together under tents, though it froze exceedingly hard, and they suffered dreadfully from cold and nakedness. "I observed," says Mr. Eton, "that there remained a perfect silence among them: not one woman weeping or lamenting, at least loudly, though every one perhaps had lost a parent, a child, or a husband†."

* Denon, voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, t. i, p. 205.

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 120. Prince Potemkin, according to Mr. Eton (p. 118), was a very humane

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Primary motives for the seclusion of women.

In the early state of Turkish society, while the men were employed in the labours of the field or the exercise of the chace, the women were devoted exclusively to domestic occupations. The same habits of separation continued, when their modes of life, in other

man: but has Mr. Eton himself a correct idea of humanity, when he tells us, that this humane man "might have taken the fortress on the first of July, but purposely protracted the siege, though he saw his own troops perishing from the excess of the cold?" (Pref. p. xiii.)

"As I spoke Turkish," says Mr. Eton, "I had the guard of that post, and the superintendance of the women that night." Here is a strong and positive assertion, on the accuracy of which must depend our confidence in Mr. Eton's qualifications, and our belief in the general correctness of his statements. Now Mr. Eton relates, that, when the Russian officers came to distribute the prisoners in different parts, some Turks objected to the separation of friends and relations, but several of the women said to the Turks, *let them* do as they will, they are our masters now. "In the two first words," says Mr. Eton (p. 118), "they expressed the same notion of their superiority as the men had done, but the remainder of the sentence is not uncharacteristic of Turkish women in general." What Mr. Eton really means by this sly insinuation, he alone can explain. I shall confine myself to a philological remark. The Turkish verbs are not conjugated, as ours, by means of auxiliaries: the two first words are no more expressed in Turkish, in the phrase "let them do," than they are in Latin. *Etsinler* is the third person plural of the imperative of the verb *etmek* (to do): and I think it would puzzle Mr. Eton to point out in which of the three component syllables of this word he was able to detect that expression of superiority, at which himself and the humane Russians were so much offended.

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respects, were changed: and the precepts of their new religion defined with rigour the duties to be observed by either sex. But the precautions used in Turkey to conceal the women from the public view, whether the custom originated with themselves or was adopted from other nations, are less to be attributed to jealousy and suspicion than to respect for the persons, and reverence for the modesty, of women; and they are perhaps to be considered as an homage to female beauty, which the Turks think that no man can behold with physical indifference, or with mental purity. In their houses the women are screened from intrusive curiosity; and their dress, when abroad, without any pretensions to elegance, muffles their bodies, and seems purposely designed for concealment. The thin covering of muslin which veils only a part of their faces, leaves them, however, perfectly free to observe the persons of the men. If jealousy dictated such a disguise, it could not more effectually have defeated its own purposes: for the spirit of intrigue could scarcely suggest a more happy expedient to elude vigilance, and to deceive, without alarming, suspicion. The means of preventing indiscretion by watching over the

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conduct of the women must necessarily be limited to the idle, or the rich; so that, if there be equal virtue in Turkey as in Christendom, there is at least equal merit.

Inquiry as to its effects in promoting marriages,

In a general survey of the Turkish empire, there are perhaps as few unmarried persons of either sex as in other countries; so that the seclusion of women does not appear to operate as an impediment to matrimony: for though ambitious men defer their domestic establishments till they have advanced or secured their fortunes, yet the husbandman, the artisan and the tradesman, generally contract marriage as a preliminary to their settling themselves in business. Indeed it would not be allowed to an unmarried man, or which is considered as the same thing, to a person who has no woman in his family, to keep a house and an independent establishment in Constantinople. The evil then extends no further than to restrain girls from general conversation, and to confine the attention of wives to their conjugal duties. It cannot by any means be complained of as a hardship upon the women, or as a favour to the other sex.

in enforcing the observance of the conjugal duties,

"The morality of Turkish women," says Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "is as with

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us, and they do not commit one crime the less for not being Christians:" but intrigues, except among the indigent who are not overlooked by servants or duennas, are attended with obstacles not easily surmounted*. Some authors mention the bath as a rendezvous of lovers, but I do not hesitate to assert, that no assignation was ever made at a public bath†. Others mention Jewesses and Armenian women as the conductors of intrigues, and they allege, that correspondence is carried on between the lovers by means of the flowers of a nosegay. Such means are indeed possible, and so are a thousand others, which have been, and no doubt

* " On voit qu'il est presque impossible aux femmes de manquer aux lois de la décence et de la pudeur, si naturelles d'ailleurs à leur sexe—Toutes les croisées de leurs appartemens qui donnent au-dehors ou sur la cour de la maison, sont garnies de ce qu'on appelle ailleurs si improprement des jalousies. Veulent-elles aller au bain public, voir leurs parentes, faire des emplettes, ou se promener, elles sont toujours accompagnées des autres dames de la maison, suivies de leurs esclaves et gardées par des eunuques, ou par des domestiques spécialement préposés pour cet objet. Excepté celles qui sont avancées en âge, aucune ne peut aller à la mosquée: d'accord avec les mœurs, la loi les en dispense." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 320.)

† This mistake, I apprehend, may be traced to a defective quotation from Busbequius, who says (Epist. iii, p. 123), " mulieres inter se amant, conciliatrices vero nefariorum amorum sunt balneæ."

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are, daily resorted to in Constantinople, as in every populous and luxurious capital.

If a Christian be detected in a criminal intercourse with a Turkish woman, he is obliged not only to marry her, but to espouse her religion, otherwise he is irremissibly condemned to death*. The only intrigue with a foreigner ever mentioned to me on undoubted authority, and with circumstances analagous to Turkish customs, was with an English officer, employed in the Turkish service at Ruschiuk on the Danube during the last Russian war; and nothing could be more simple than its contrivance. The lady, who knew no language but the Turkish, came to the house of the officer, whose knowledge of the language did not facilitate communication between them: the exposure of a beautiful face explained the motive of her visit. Their intimacy was detected: the gentleman sought protection from Sir Robert Murray Keith, who was

* Lord Sandwich says (p. 158), that "their measures for procuring opportunities of frequent interviews are always so well laid that a discovery is next to impossible." But, as his lordship candidly confesses, that he does not speak from his own experience, his testimony only authorizes a suspicion, that a secret so well kept has no foundation in reality.

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then negociating the peace at Sistove, and the lady, as he afterwards heard, justified her conduct, or at least was pardoned by her husband.

in influencing the public character.

It cannot be denied, that the severity of the Turkish institutions must be productive of incorrectness of taste and irregularity of conduct in both sexes*. Whether these partial inconveniences are overbalanced by more general advantages, it would be a matter of great difficulty and delicacy to decide. The great corrective of public depravity is domestic manners, and if the women be too scrupulously, yet they are effectually, removed from the chief seductions to irregularity. The interior of their houses is pure and untainted with vice and obscenity. Domestic virtue is honoured with public appro-

* "Cum vero vulgus mulierum promiscuis sui sexus balneis utatur, eo plures, cum servæ tum liberæ, aggregantur; in quibus puellæ multæ sunt eximia forma, ex diversis orbis regionibus variis casibus collectæ, quæ cum nudæ ut in balneis reliquarum oculis exponantur, miros in quibusdam excitant amores, nihilo minores quam quibus apud nos adolescentium animos virgines commovent." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 122.)

"Quod de mulieribus, idem et de pueris sentiunt, quorum amoribus, si qua alia gens, præcipue Turcæ indulgent." (Georgii Dousæ iter Constant. ap. Gronovium, t. vi, p. 3350.)

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bation, and misconduct is censured with unrelenting severity.

We are told, that pleasure is the chief duty of Turkish wives: and it may be true of the wives of the voluptuous; yet even these show at least so much reverence to their children and their families as to conceal from observation the working of the passions, and sacrifice so little duty that few mothers neglect the care of their infants*. Those who have observed them in their families, acknowledge, that their highest pleasures are the caresses of an infant whom they nourish with their milk. Mahomet himself is never more amiable than when he enforces this pleasing duty. "The kiss given by an infant to its mother equals in sweetness that which we shall imprint on the threshold of paradise." The *harem* is indeed susceptible of voluptuousness. Lady M. W. Montagu has described it with accuracy, though not without enthusiasm†; but the

* "Toutes les mères, en général, sans en excepter les sultanes, nourissent elles-mêmes leurs enfans." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 331.)

† See a description of Lady Mary's visit to Fatima, in her letter written from Adrianople to the Countess of Mar (v. ii, p. 168). "I could not help thinking I had been sometime in Mahomet's paradise, so much was I charmed with what I had seen."

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president Montesquieu has heightened its enjoyments with all the glow of a heated imagination*. We must however acknowledge,

* See Lettres Persannes, lettre iii.—"Zachi à Usbek."

"J'errois d'appartemens en appartemens, te cherchant toujours, et ne te trouvant jamais; mais rencontrant par-tout un cruel souvenir de ma félicité passée. Tantôt je me voyois en ce lieu où, pour la premiere fois de ma vie, je te reçus dans mes bras; tantôt dans celui où tu décidas cette fameuse querelle entre tes femmes. Chacune de nous se prétendoit supérieure aux autres en beauté: nous nous présentâmes devant toi, après avoir épuisé tout ce que l'imagination peut fournir de parures et d'ornemens: tu vis avec plaisir les miracles de notre art; tu admiras jusqu'où nous avoit emportées l'ardeur de te plaire. Mais tu fis bientôt céder ces charmes empruntés à des graces plus naturelles; tu détruisis tout notre ouvrage: il fallut nous dépouiller de ces ornemens, qui t'étoient devenus incommodes; il fallut paroître à ta vue dans la simplicité de la nature. Je comptai pour rien la pudeur; je ne pensai qu'à ma gloire. Heureux Usbek! que de charmes furent étalés à tes yeux! Nous te vîmes long-temps errer d'enchantemens en enchantemens; ton ame incertaine demeura long-temps sans se fixer; chaque grace nouvelle te demandoit un tribut: nous fûmes en un moment toutes couvertes de tes baisers: tu portas tes curieux regards dans les lieux les plus secrets; tu nous fis passer, en un instant, dans mille situations différentes; toujours de nouveaux commandemens, et une obéissance toujours nouvelle. Je te l'avoue, Usbek, une passion encore plus vive que l'ambition me fit souhaiter de te plaire. Je me vis insensiblement devenir la maîtresse de ton cœur: tu me pris, tu me quittas; tu revins à moi, et je sus te retenir: le triomphe fut tout pour moi, et le désespoir pour mes rivales: il nous sembla que nous fussions seules dans le monde; tout ce qui nous entouroit ne fut plus digne de nous occuper. Plût au ciel que mes rivales eussent eu le courage de rester témoins de toutes les marques d'amour que je reçus de

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that its pleasures admit of degrees; or we must doubt the bold assertion of De Tott, that "Turkish women contribute but little to the pleasures of their possessor, whom the *harem* inspires only with disgust*." Mr. Eton asserts, that "the husband regards his wives only as the instruments of his pleasures, and seeks their society with no other view." But can the heart of the Turk be supposed to deviate so far from the usual course of human nature as not to be susceptible of the endearments of which marriage is the source? With whatever view, or under the influence of whatever passion, he may have formed his *harem*, the various affections must have their turn: the husband, the father, and the friend, must succeed to the lover, and from these social affections must spring, in due order, the high and noble passions which Mr. Eton justly attributes to the influence of female society, but of which he denies the existence in the Turkish nation.

toi! Si elles avoient bien vu mes transports, elles auroient senti la différence qu'il y a de mon amour au leur; elles auroient vu que, si elles pouvoient disputer avec moi de charmes, elles ne pouvoient pas disputer de sensibilité."

* See Memoirs, preliminary discourse, p. xxiii.

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"The women," it is rashly asserted, "cannot be desirable companions to the man, because they have no cultivation of mind, and are stupid and solitary*." But the education of women of every rank is, at least, suitable to the manners of that particular state of society in which they move, and leaves them no inferiority with respect to their husbands. We do wrong to expect among women of the lower classes much useful or ornamental knowledge; but though the fleeting images of daily occurrences alone occupy their reflection, yet their domestic and family concerns are discussed with no less interest by their husbands than by themselves. "It must be confessed," says the Chevalier d'Ohsson, "that the way of life of the Mahometan women, estimable as it makes them in the eyes of their husbands and dear to their families, deprives them, however, of the means of acquiring those qualifications which heighten the personal and mental attractions. But notwithstanding the few advantages which they derive from education, nature abundantly compensates for the neglect. The Turkish women seem to inherit

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 242.

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acuteness of discernment, and delicacy of taste and judgment. Their deportment and manners are graceful and amiable, their conversation chaste and unaffected. I have occasionally met with ladies of quality at the hotels of the ministers or magistrates, and I have admired the purity of their language, their easy elocution, the refinement of their thoughts, the nobleness of their style, and the grace which accompanied their words and actions*."

Persons and dress of the women.

The Turkish women are beautiful, though their beauty is of a different character from that of women in the northern climates of Europe. Their dress, when abroad, is little calculated to expose to advantage the elegant proportions of shape, which when young they possess, but from various circumstances in their manner of living, do not so generally preserve as the women of the other parts of Europe.

De Tott seems to deny them beauty. He went unexpectedly into the apartment of Madame de Tott, when she was receiving a visit from some Turkish ladies. "The outcry was general; but only those who were

* See Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 237.

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old hurried themselves to cover their faces: he, however, thought it great vanity in the young ones to make no more haste. They are exposed, he says, in their hot baths to all the inconveniences of a forced perspiration, so frequently repeated as to destroy the freshness of the complexion and the grace of the features, even before they are marriageable*."

It has been the peculiar fate of the Turkish ladies to be described by writers who were under the influence of prejudice or partiality. Lord Sandwich says, "we may venture to affirm" (and it is rather a bold assertion, as it is founded on the opinion of other people), "that a person who had ever experienced an intrigue with a Turkish woman, would have no further taste for the ladies of any other country, whom he would find in every particular so much their inferiors. The cleanliness and sweetness of their bodies, their advantageous dress, which seems made purposely to inspire the warmest desires, the tenderness of their expressions, their words and actions, which seem enough to declare the unfeigned sentiments of their hearts, their grace, air and beauty, are sufficient to

* See Memoirs, p. 45, and preliminary discourse, p. 27.

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captivate the most unconquerable breast; *while their sincerity and unequalled constancy are capable of fixing their lover's affections**."

I prefer Lady M. W. Montagu's description of them to that of other travellers, as however highly it may be coloured, it is *the only one* certainly drawn from life. "They walked about with the same majestic grace which Milton describes our general mother with. There were many amongst them as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of a Guido or a Titian, and most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair, divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders, braided either with pearl or ribbons, perfectly representing the figures of the graces. I was here convinced of the truth of a reflection I have often made, that, if it were the fashion to go naked, the face would be hardly observed†."

* See Voyage round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739, p. 158. I think there may be detected in Lord Sandwich's writings, notwithstanding his declaration to the contrary, a lurking desire of insinuating, that his knowledge of the Turkish women was not derived merely from hearsay information.

† See Lady M. W. Montagu's letters, v. ii, p. 94. The personal beauty of the Turks of both sexes was a subject of com-

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Restricted as the women are to a partial intercourse with people of either sex, it is not to be expected, that the fashion of dress is subject to such continual variations as in the Christian part of Europe: and, as the taste of the country is less refined than with us, the women have not yet learned to substitute neatness for magnificence. Their dresses are made of the richest stuffs of India and Cachemire, which, being too costly to be frequently changed, and incapable of being washed, continue in use for a much longer period than they can possibly preserve the freshness which delicacy requires. Another indispensable article of elegant dress in all seasons is fur; but an animal substance, which is in a state of continual decay, however it may display the riches of the wearer,

mendation with the Persian writers, even while the Turks dwelt on the northern frontier of their empire. There is the following passage in the poem of Ferdusi, who wrote, at the end of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh, century, the war of Afrasiab and Khosru, or Cyrus. "With them are many Turkish girls, all with their faces veiled; all with their bodies taper as a cypress, and locks black as musk; all with cheeks full of roses, with eyes full of sleep; all with lips sweet as wine, and fragrant as rose-water. If we go near to that bower we may take several of those lovely nymphs, and bring them to the noble Cyrus." (See Jones's works, v. ii, p. 316.)

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is ill-calculated to convey an idea of delicacy.

Harems of Turkish gentlemen,

The *harems* of private gentlemen have been frequently visited by European physicians, and from none of their descriptions do they appear to be the scenes of vice and debauchery. Few men wish to avail themselves of the licence, which the law allows, of increasing the number of their wives; and the slaves, in general, are not the mistresses of the husband, but the servants or companions of the wife. The right of the master or mistress is mildly exercised in Turkey, and slavery is perhaps the readiest road to honours and preferments: the European prejudices with respect to birth are unknown or disregarded, and the male or female slave is frequently incorporated with the family by marriage with the son or daughter of the master.

and grandees.

The *harem*, in the palaces of the emperor and the great officers of state, is guarded by eunuchs, black, and deformed, whether from nature, or the effect of the mutilation. Though I do not pretend to have obtained particular information as to the jurisdiction of the interior of the imperial *harem*, yet I may venture to assert, that these eunuchs, so for-

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midably represented by Montesquieu, officiate only as guards of honour: they neither perform menial offices, nor are they employed about the persons of the ladies: much less are they invested with command; nor do they consider, that they are especially appointed to watch over the virtue of the women*.

Imperial *harem.*

No part of the Turkish institutions or establishments has so strongly excited the curiosity of foreigners as the *harem* of the seraglio, concerning which, as no foreigner can be admitted under any pretence whatever, no direct information can be obtained†; nor indeed information of any kind, except

* "It may be perceived in this relation, that the eunuchs were more under the command of the sultana than disposed to contradict her. These beings are in Turkey only an article of luxury, and scarcely met with, but in the seraglio of the grand signor and those of the sultanas." (De Tott, v. i, p. 77.)

A passage in Lady M. W. Montagu's letters seems to contradict this opinion. But though the fact cannot be doubted, the inference to be drawn from it should be exactly the reverse. Speaking of Hafité Sultan, her Ladyship says, "She has no black eunuchs for her guard, her husband being obliged to respect her as a queen, and not to inquire at all into what is done in her apartments."

† "Quant au sérail, il est impossible d'y pénétrer: aucune Européenne, *aucune ambassadrice* ne peut se flatter d'avoir réussi dans ses tentatives à cet égard." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 328.)

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what may be learned by means of ladies, who, having themselves constituted part of the imperial *harem*, have been afterwards married to the great officers of the court. D'Ohsson learned, and has communicated, some interesting particulars, which he expressly acknowledges to have derived from this source*. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu conversed on the subject with the widow of Sultan Mustafa. *Other writers have conjectured*, and in general have presented to their readers a gloomy and disgusting picture.

Lady Mary has been accused by almost every subsequent writer (and with the greatest acrimony by those whose writings are

* " Je dois les détails qui concernent les sultanes, les *cadinns*, et le *harem* impérial, aux filles esclaves du sérail. On sait que plusieurs d'entre elles peuvent obtenir leur liberté après quelques années de service; qu'alors elles quittent le palais impérial pour être données en mariage à des officiers de la cour, qui les recherchent toujours avec cet intérêt qu'inspire l'espoir de s'avancer par leur crédit et leurs sollicitations auprès des sultanes et des dames dont elles sont les créatures. C'est par ces officiers, et par les femmes Chrétiennes, qui ont la facilité de se ménager un accès libre auprès d'elles du moment qu'elles sont hors du sérail, que j'ai rectifié les idées fausses et erronées dont je me nourissois moi-même sur tout ce qui concerne les sultanes, les dames, et le *harem* du grand seigneur." (Tab. Gén. discours préliminaire, p. ix.)

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most strikingly contrasted with her elegant compositions*) of having asserted the untruth, that she had been admitted into the *harem* of the seraglio. I willingly take this opportunity of declaring, from my own knowledge of Turkey and its various inhabitants, that, as her Ladyship's letters excel all other descriptions in the graceful simplicity of their style, so her account of the Turkish manners, in that higher circle in which she surveyed them, is wonderfully correct. I might indeed challenge her detractors to point out any passage of her writings from Turkey which could not satisfactorily be proved to be true; but I confine myself to the refutation of that censure which is connected with the present subject, the *harem* in the imperial palace. "I have taken care," says her Ladyship, "to see as

* De Tott (preliminary discourse, p. xv) questions the authenticity of Lady Mary's letters: he calls them "the pretended letters of Lady Montagu."—"They were entertaining," he says (p. 161), "and this was all the author desired, and the public is never severe on the errors by which it is amused." Even Mr. Eton presumes to accuse her Ladyship of an inattention to truth and accuracy. "I am sensible," he says (preface, p. iv), "that I may be accused of treating the Turks too severely, and particularly by those who admire Lady Wortley Montagu's elegant descriptions, and similar productions of a warm imagination."

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much of the seraglio as is to be seen;" upon which the late editor of her letters observes in a note, that "it is evident Lady M. W. Montagu did not mean to assert, that she had seen the interior of the seraglio at Constantinople. *She had certainly seen that at Adrianople*," he says, "in which circumstance the error has originated." I have, however, perused the letters with attention, and I do not find it insinuated in any passage of them, that she had seen the interior of either of the imperial *harems*. It is true, that she dined at Adrianople with the grand vizir's lady, and afterwards visited Fatima, the wife of the *kiahya-bey*, or minister of the interior. But it is evident, that neither of these ladies lived in the seraglio: and indeed, in her last letter from Adrianople, she says, "the seraglio does not *seem* a very magnificent palace: but the gardens are very large, plentifully supplied with water, and full of trees, *which is all I know of them, having never been in them.*" These expressions certainly imply, that she had not even seen all that was to be seen of this palace. At Constantinople Lady Mary went to see the Sultana Hafité, who had been compelled by an absolute order *to leave the seraglio* fifteen

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years before her Ladyship's acquaintance with her. It was therefore from conversation with these ladies, and not from an actual visit to the seraglio, that she collected her information respecting certain customs of the imperial *harem**.

Dr. Pouqueville was introduced, by means of a German who was employed to keep in order the gardens of the seraglio, into that part of the *harem* called the summer apartments, at the time when they were not occupied, as the ladies were removed to one of the emperor's country seats on the shore of the Bosphorus. "An event unheard of before," says Dr. Pouqueville in the pride of his heart, "that a traveller had penetrated into the interior of the grand signor's palace, and even into his *harem*†." But the doctor is mistaken, for M. de la Motraye, more than a century ago, went even further into the *harem* than he appears to have done‡.

* See Lady M. W. Montagu's letters, v. ii, p. 188, 246.

† See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 238, note.

‡ See Voyages du Sieur de la Motraye, t. i, p. 220.

Dr. Pouqueville indeed supports his assertion with no better authority than that of his friend the German gardener, who himself had been but a few months in the grand signor's service. "Notre introducteur nous assura que nous étions les seuls Européens qui y eussent jusqu'à ce jour pénétré." (Voyages, t. ii, p. 260.)

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Both of them describe, and no doubt with accuracy, the topography of the seraglio, its buildings, and the apartments into which they were admitted. But Dr. Pouqueville had read the letters of Lady M. W. Montagu, and firmly believed, from his respect for her authority, that he should meet with walls incrusted with emeralds and sapphires, with parterres enamelled with variegated flowers, in short with all the wonders of enchantment. The labours of his German friend corresponded, however, so little with his preconceived ideas, that the mere sight of the melancholy garden dissipated the illusion. "*I cursed the woman from my heart,*" says the ill-mannerly disciple of Esculapius. And why did he so? Why does he offend the ears of Majesty (for his travels are dedicated to the Emperor Napoleon) with such coarse and ungentlemanly expressions; with language which writers in the happier days of French literature would have disowned, which Lewis the Fourteenth would have spurned? Truly, because our illustrious countrywoman, in her description of a lady's boudoir, does not exactly convey the idea of a garden in the sultan's palace.

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The passage which has provoked the angry invective of Dr. Pouqueville against Lady Mary, is the following, from her letter to the Countess of Mar. "What would you say, if I told you, that I had been in a *harem* where the winter apartment was wainscoted with inlaid work of mother-of-pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive wood, exactly like the little boxes you have seen brought out of this country; and in whose rooms designed for summer the walls are all crusted with japan china, the roofs gilt, and the floors spread with the finest Persian carpets? yet there is nothing more true: such is the palace of my lovely friend, the fair Fatima, whom I was acquainted with at Adrianople*." Now I aver, from what I myself have frequently seen, that there is no exaggeration in this description. But Lady Mary's reputation for veracity shall not depend on my assertion only: an acknowledgment of the consistency of her descriptions with truth might easily be extorted even from her detractors. D'Ohsson, however, with whom imagination is dormant, is alone sufficient to silence calumny, and to confirm the accuracy of her Ladyship's observations.

* See Lady M. W. Montagu's letters, v. ii, p. 234.

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"In the *harems* of the opulent," he says, "there is a great display of luxury and ornament; in each of them there are generally three or four chambers, the cielings and wainscotings of which are of olive or walnut-tree wood decorated with carved work, or the walls are incrusted with mother-of-pearl, ivory, or porcelain of China or Japan *."

* Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 173.

Dr. Dallaway, in describing the palace of Bey-han Sultan, says very justly, that "simplicity or science of ornament is not understood by them; for all that they attempt is brilliancy produced by a quantity of colours and gilding." (Constant. ancient and modern, p. 139.)—Motraye, in describing the apartments of the *harem*, where he accompanied a watch-maker, as his assistant, who was employed to regulate the clocks, says, that the eunuch who received them at the entrance of the *harem*, conducted them into a hall, which appeared to be the chief and most agreeable apartment in the palace. "Cette salle est incrustée de porcelaines fines; et le lambris doré et azuré qui orne le fond d'une coupole qui régne audessus, est des plus riches, aussi bien que celui de tout le plafond. Une fontaine artificielle et jaillissante, dont le bassin est d'un précieux marbre verd qui m'a paru serpentin ou jaspe, s'élevoit directement au milieu, sous le dôme."—"Nous traversâmes diverses belles salles, et chambres, foulant aux pieds les riches tapis de Perse étendus presque par tout, et en assez grand nombre pour nous faire juger du reste. Je me trouvai la tête si pleine de sophas, de précieux plafonds, de meubles superbes, en un mot, d'une si grande confusion de matériaux magnifiques, mais irrégulièrement disposés, au moins selon notre goût, qu'il seroit difficile d'en donner une idée claire." (Voyages, t. i, p. 220, 222.) Even Dr. Pouqueville confesses himself to have been agreeably surprised with

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Dr. Pouqueville, by the censure which he has thus unjustly cast on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, seems to challenge a comparison between his own and her Ladyship's observations on the Turkish *harems*. But they appear to have viewed similar objects under the influence of such different feelings that scarcely any common features of resemblance can be discovered in their representations. On approaching the gate which opened to the winter apartments of the grand signor's ladies, the doctor's curiosity was strongly excited by the desire of discovering something of this retreat, which none but the sultan and his black eunuchs are permitted to explore: it was then, that an idea occurred to him with so much force "that there are no dangers," he says, "to which he should not willingly have exposed himself, if he could have hoped by braving them to obtain a sight"—of what? Of the women no doubt; for a Frenchman, in such a situa-

the elegance and beauty of the *keosk*, or pavillion of the grand signor: the richness of the gilding, the decorations, and the furniture, were all deserving of admiration; and the prospect from it was delightful. So that, from the concurring testimony of all the travellers who have written on the subject, it appears, that Lady Mary's description of Fatima's apartments might apply, and certainly without exaggeration, to the imperial *harem*.

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tion, could have thought of nothing else. Alas! no. The doctor's wishes extended no further than to obtain a sight of the mouldy remains of the library of the Eastern emperors. He was at length conducted to the apartment of the female slaves: the massy key of the iron gate through which he entered, and the grating noise of the door turning on its hinges, astonished him for a moment: the idea of a black eunuch armed with his dagger, and the hundred deaths which he would have inflicted, occurred indeed, but did not damp the doctor's ardour, for he recollected, that all the eunuchs had followed the sultan to his country palace. "I felt a lively emotion of sorrow," says Dr. Pouqueville, "when I reflected on the deplorable condition of these unfortunate girls; for I found, on calculating the dimensions of the apartment, that there was space sufficient for upwards of three hundred and fifty beds, and I thought of the mephitical exhalations with which the air of the chamber must be contaminated*." Was ever man before occupied with such thoughts in such a situation? *Caro dottore, lascia le donne e studia la mattamatica*†.

* See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 249, 251, 252.

† See Confessions de Jean-Jaques Rousseau, liv. vii.

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It is known, that the grand signor, from an indeterminate number of female slaves, selects his favourites, who are distinguished by the title of *cadinn* and by some authors are limited to seven *. The mother of a boy is called *hasseky*, unless the boy die, in

Titles and degrees of precedency among the ladies.

* "Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews, are, any more than the Turks, subjected to a natural slavery. The despotism of the sultan cannot seize the person of any young girl, whatever desires she may have excited in his breast. Though there may still be found among the Grecian women as beautiful forms as those which served as models to Praxiteles, no example of such an outrage is furnished by the Turkish annals." (De Tott, preliminary discourse, p. 28.) De Tott's assertion is confirmed by all that we know of the Turks from their past history and from actual observation (for it is unnecessary to contradict a ridiculous story, unsupported by the testimony of Turkish historians, and resting on the authority of Mr. Eton, p. 177, of the seizure of the *mufti's* daughter by Sultan Ibrahim; and as the extract of the letter printed at Paris in 1527, and said to be written from Constantinople, contains an affirmation of the contrary practice being so prevalent in Turkey that all female children were placed from their birth at the disposal of the sultan, it shows, that the custom of communicating fictitious information, in letters dated from the banks of the Elbe, the Maine, or the Danube, is not an invention of the modern French. I subjoin a passage from the letter itself (which, because of its antiquity, may be presumed by some to deserve more credit than I am inclined to allow to it) in order to demonstrate the certainty of its being fabricated by a person only half acquainted with the subject of which he treats. "Javoye une fort belle fille laquelle ma este prinse depuis demy an en ca et mise au timbre des aultres concubines je ne la reverray jamais mauldicte soit l'heure que je l'engendray jamais."

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which event she descends to her former rank. The *cādinns*, or wives, of a deceased or deposed sultan are all removed from the imperial *harem* to the *eski serai*, a palace in the middle of the city built by Mahomet the Second; except the *validé sultan*, or dowager empress, the mother of the reigning sultan, who has her liberty, a palace, and revenues to support a suitable establishment. But the *hassekies*, or those who have a son living, are treated with marked respect, as, in the natural order of events, they may become *validé*. The title of *sultan*, though from courtesy it may be given to the *hassekies*, is, strictly speaking, appropriated to the empress dowager, and the sons and daughters of the imperial family*. All the other ladies of the seraglio are comprehended under the general name of *odaliks*, or slaves of the household.

Domestics and guards of honour.

The *kislar aga*, chief of the black eunuchs, is one of the greatest personages of the empire†. Independently of his authority in

* The title of *sultan* precedes the name of a prince, as Sultan Selim, and follows that of a princess, as Aïsché Sultan. In common discourse the word *sultan*, with a pronoun affixed, is applied to any person, as *sultanem*, my Lord or Sir; but when used absolutely, it signifies only the emperor.

† The sultan, in an official paper of the greatest solemnity, calls the *kislar agasi* "the most illustrious of the officers who

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the *harem* he has the superintendance of all the imperial mosques, and is charged with the general administration of all the pious foundations belonging to them. The *hazné vekili*, or keeper of the privy purse, is next in rank to the *kislar aga* and succeeds to his post on a vacancy: the inferior black eunuchs are said to amount to about three or four hundred; and Olivier asserts, that they are "malicious and peevish, tormented by their impotence, cursing their nullity, and endeavouring to thwart the female slaves entrusted to their charge*." It has been said by Lady M. W. Montagu, and repeated by subsequent writers, that the preference of the sultan is *always officially* communicated to the female slaves by the *kislar aga*; but I doubt the accuracy of her Ladyship's information, for, although some ceremony may be observed on the first admission of a lady to the honour of the imperial bed, it is improbable, that the sultan should use more deliberation than any of his subjects: like them he acts according to the impulse of the moment, and may occasionally express his sovereign will by throw-

approach his august person, and worthy of the confidence of monarchs and of sovereigns." (Tab. Gén. t. iii, p. 308.)

* Olivier's travels, v. i, p. 28.

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ing a handkerchief or by sending an eunuch as his emissary, and sometimes, like Homer's Jupiter, may be surprised into unpremeditated dalliance *.

The white eunuchs are employed without the *harem*, and have the charge of the gates of the seraglio, but they neither approach the women, nor arrive at offices more honourable or lucrative than the superintendance of the education of the pages. The chief of the white eunuchs is called *capu agasi*.

* Cantemir, though better acquainted with the Turkish customs than any other historian, and quoting, in general, only from good authorities, has, however, adopted, rather too easily, the popular errors respecting the secrets of the *harem*. "If the sultan loves any of the women more than the rest, *he can set the crown upon her head*, and she is thenceforward called *hasseki sultana*. The other concubines of the sultan cannot have access to him, unless they are sent for, but the *hasseki* may go into the sultan without being sent for." (p. 297, note 36.) "The sultan is forbidden by the laws of the seraglio, to lie with any of the women kept there *without his mother's consent*. Every day, during the feast of *baïram*, the sultana mother presents a beautiful virgin, well educated, richly dressed, and adorned with precious stones, for her son's use. And, though the vizir and the other *pashas* send, among other things, young virgins for presents to the emperor, he never touches any one of them, unless she is brought to him by his mother. If the sultan has a mind to choose a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without opposition; but he is considered as acting contrary to the rules of the seraglio, and against his mother's honour." (p. 296, note 36.)

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From the gloominess of the exterior, some authors have conjectured and lamented the misery of the beautiful prisoners, "condemned not only to long privations, to know of love only what is to excite in them desires; but even deprived of opening their hearts in the bosom of friendship.*" For my own part I confess, that I prefer the livelier picture drawn by Marmontel, and notwithstanding some inaccuracy in *costume*, I enjoy greater satisfaction in contemplating the grave and magnificent Soliman *sipping tea* with his sprightly French mistress than in surveying the sombre productions of equally fanciful pencils†. State of the women.

* See Olivier's travels, v. i, p. 29.

† The marriage of Sultan Soliman with his slave "à nez retroussé," which is the subject of one of Marmontel's contes moraux, has some real foundation in history; and the other incidents of the fable are justified by tradition. We learn from Busbequius, that Roxalana, having borne a son to the emperor, availed herself of the law which enfranchizes the mother of a mussulman, and refused her further favours to her lover, except on condition of his marrying her. The ceremony had gone into disuse, ever since the captive sultan Bajazet had been insulted by the ignominious treatment of his wife in the camp of Timour (or Tamerlane). Cantemir accounts for the title of *padishah* being given at the porte to the king of France, though it is given to no other Christian prince, by the following story, which he received from the Turks. "A grand-daughter of the king of France, having vowed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was taken near

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But though we cannot penetrate into the secrets of the imperial palace, we may learn with accuracy from Lady Mary the state of the *harems* of other great personages of the empire. She visited the wives of the grand vizir and the minister of the interior, whose *harems* would undoubtedly be modelled upon the same plan as that of the seraglio; but she heard no expression of discontent or dissatisfaction, no complaint of tyranny or restriction, no regret, that the delights of love were imperfectly understood. She afterwards visited Hafité, widow of Sultan Mustafa, remarried by order of the reigning emperor to Bekir Effendi, secretary of state. Lady Mary's description of the sultana's establishment, of her dress, of her attendants, and the elegance of the entertainment, is such as she herself apprehends will appear to have received many embellishments from her hand, and will look too like the Arabian tales: yet the sultana herself was insensible to any pleasure but the recollection of the imperial *harem*. "She never mentioned the sultan without tears in her

Cyprus by Turkish pirates and presented to Soliman. On account of her birth and beauty she was placed among the most beloved concubines, and so powerfully attracted the sultan's affection by her *French airs* and *love verses*, that she had an absolute influence over him, and managed all affairs as she thought proper." (p. 206, note 77.)

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eyes. My past happiness, said she (and there was no affectation in these words), appears a dream to me; yet I cannot forget, that I was beloved by the greatest and most lovely of mankind."

The *odaliks*, or ladies of the household, are by no means condemned to a state of hopeless, or interminable, virginity. They are sought in marriage by the officers of state, by the governors of provinces, by the courtiers, and by all who are stimulated by ambition to aspire at preferment, or who seek security under the patronage of the *cadinns* and sultanas; for from the recesses of the *harem*, the ladies influence public affairs, nominate to places and favours, and avert or direct punishments *.

* Dr. Pouqueville, from surveying an empty bed chamber, has ventured to assert, that he had examined into all the details of the wretched life of the ladies of the seraglio. He found a few rags in the corner of a closet, and he demonstrates from them, that there can be no magnificence in the dress of the *odaliks*. The furniture had been removed to other apartments, and thence he concludes, that their furniture must be mean, and *that their tables are ill-served*. He observed nothing remarkable in the flooring, the walls, or the cieling, and thence proceeds to show, that when the rooms are lighted up in the evening, a few scattered tapers of *yellow* wax, on high candlesticks, give a faint light, whose reflection only adds to the gloom of darkness. (See Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 253.) If this mode of

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This assembly of beautiful women (for as such we may venture to describe it, since none but virgins of consummate beauty are esteemed worthy of being admitted into the imperial *harem*) is composed of slaves "as far fetched," says Rycaut, "as the Turk commands, or the wandering Tartar makes his excursions," and chiefly from Georgia and Circassia. Peyssonnel indeed asserts, that Circassians alone have the honour of sharing the imperial bed, from which the Georgians are rigorously excluded, ever since a sultan, about a century ago, when "at length the morn and cold indifference came," fastidiously took offence at some unguarded expressions which fell from his Georgian mistress, and declared with an oath, that no girl from that country should ever again be received into his bed or that of his successors. But lovers perjuries are the jest of heaven*, and if venial under any circumstances, must be peculiarly so in the present

reasoning be legitimate, there seems no possibility of preventing Dr. Pouqueville from drawing any conclusion from any premises.

* The exclamation of Mademoiselle de l'Enclos, "Ah, le beau billet qu'a De la Chartres!" gives, I am afraid, the just measure of the compunction which is usually felt upon such occasions.

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instance; for Chardin, who travelled through the country, affirms, that the Georgians are the handsomest race of people not only in the East, but even in the world: he never saw an ugly face in persons of either sex, but many, on the contrary, that were angelical. Nature has endowed the Georgian women with peculiar graces: they are tall and finely shaped; their features and complexion, their slender waists and graceful carriage, are indescribably beautiful. "I aver," says Chardin, "that it is impossible to see them without loving them." Nothing indeed can be more ridiculous than Peyssonnel's story*, and it may be dismissed among the numberless absurdities which are related concerning the ceremonies and usages of the imperial *harem*; the custom of creeping in at the bed's foot,

* The Circassian girl, according to Peyssonnel, entailed upon her nation the privilege of keeping up the Ottoman race by the delicacy of her reply to the sultan's inquiries. He asked if it was almost day, and she answered, that "she perceived the approach of Aurora, for already the morning zephyr wantoned in her hair." But this pretty allusion to pagan mythology must have been unintelligible to the sultan. Besides I may affirm from my own experience, that during the summer season (when is is not unusual at Constantinople for persons to sleep, as the sultan appears to have done, with the windows open) the morning breeze does not begin till several hours after sunrise.

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the intrigues and jealousies of the ladies, their mutual poisonings, stranglings and drownings, the precedency established among them by the *kislar agasi*, their visits of ceremony, the incessant homage of their subordinate companions, and the *supine happiness*, which travellers, who have never spoken to a Turkish woman, affirm to be all that they are qualified to experience*.

Princesses of the blood.

When the princesses of the imperial family are married to *pashas* or courtiers, the celebration of the nuptials is performed in a public manner. The property and dowery of the sultana, in clothes, jewels, furniture, slaves, and eunuchs, are exhibited to the view of the populace in a pompous and ceremonious procession through the streets of the capital, and a magnificent entertainment is given by the bridegroom to the principal guests, the ministers and great officers of state. The honour thus conferred, and sometimes even forced, upon a subject, does not much augment his credit; for a connexion with the family of the sultan is no security

* "On imprime tous les jours cent sottises semblables sur les coutumes des Orientaux, et pour un voyageur comme Chardin, que de voyageurs comme Paul Lucas." (Voltaire, hist. de Charles xii, préface.)

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against disgrace or even capital punishment. It is purchased, however, by many important sacrifices: the household of the sultana must be supported, in a manner suitable to her dignity, at the expense of her husband, who is compelled to repudiate his former wives, and is forbidden to contract any other matrimonial engagement. The lady's power in her family extends over every thing, except the lives of her male children, whose preservation, from their consanguinity with the sultan, might perhaps derange the order of succession and disturb the public tranquillity*. On this slender foundation of fact the credulity or the ingenuity of travellers has raised a superstructure of more than Oriental extravagance. They relate, with imposing gravity, how the ceremony of betrothing is performed by the delivery into the hands of the bridegroom of a diamond-hilted dagger, and a letter addressed by the sultan to the princess, who is ordered to re-

* See Mignot, hist. Ottom. t. i, p. 484; t. ii, p. 367; t. iii, p. 79 Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 286. A third reason, which is adduced by the Ottomans themselves, is to relieve the state from the charge of supporting a numerous family of princes. The Abassides, according to an estimate made in the year 201 of the hegira (A. C. 816) by order of the caliph Abd'ullah the Third, amounted to thirty-three thousand persons of both sexes.

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ceive "the man for her pleasure and the dagger for her revenge." They describe, as accurately as though they had been eye-witnesses of the scene, how the princess sits reclining on her sopha, while the lover makes his approaches; how he falters with awe and reverence when he avows at her feet the violence of his passion and the object of his hopes; how the princess rises with disdain and seizes the dagger, which she lifts to punish the slave for his rashness, but sheaths it again in dutiful submission to the will of his highness*. Curiosity does not stop at inquiry into the ceremonies of courtship and matrimony. The husband, as it is confidently asserted, is not, even then, permitted to consummate his marriage without a written order from the hand of the grand signor*, and *certain it is*, that the lady, with becoming modesty, retires first to the chamber prepared for her in the most superb style of eastern embellishment, and is followed by her obsequious lord, who is fain to creep in at the bottom of the bed, and put an end both to etiquette and conjecture. The sul-

* See Constant. ancient and modern, p. 141.

† See Voyage round the Mediterranean in the years 1783 and 1789, p. 211.

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tanas do not accompany their husbands to their governments in the provinces; but we are assured, that absence and distance do not make them deviate from the strictest fidelity to their imperial mistresses, and that, if they be guilty of any breach of contract, they are privately strangled upon the least complaint of their consorts to the sultan. A tame compliance with these hard conditions appears, however, to an imperial wife only an equivocal proof of constancy: the power of self-denial in the husband is put to a severer test by her indulgent caprice; for we are assured by a gentleman who drank coffee in her palace, and must consequently have known the fact, that when a *pasha*, who had married a sultana, was remanded to his government, the princess selected twenty-five of the most beautiful girls of her suite whom she presented to him, in order, as it may be supposed, to preserve, by their united attractions, his conjugal affection in vigour and purity.

The slave-market.

For the gratification of the faithful, a market of female slaves, *avrat bazar*, is established in the capital*. Formerly not only

* A Turkish ambassador at a foreign court was once asked,

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Mahometans, but even Jews and Christians might purchase women for domestic purposes or worldly pleasure; and Sandys says, that the custom (being prohibited only by our religion) was general among the Franks. The frail virtue of the western Christians is, however, at the present day powerfully supported by the temporal authority of the civil magistrate, and the custom of lying alone, which was almost discarded in Sandys's time, is less rare among them than it appears to have been formerly*. All, except Turks, are now not only excluded from the slave-market, but are prohibited from retaining slaves.

The slave-market is a quadrangle, surrounded by a covered gallery, and ranges of small and separate apartments. It has been said, that the practices of the owners towards their slaves are repugnant to humanity and decency; but it is more reasonable to suppose, that the avarice of the slave-merchant would induce him to observe a very different conduct, and more agreeable to his interest. I once made a voyage in a Turkish vessel,

how they made love in his country? We do not make love, he replied, we purchase it ready made.

* See Sandys's travels, p. 85.

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in which a slave-merchant had also taken his passage with two females, and his treatment of them was such that, if I had been ignorant of his motive, I should have admired his humanity. At another time, in travelling by land, I passed a day in a *khan* on the borders of the Danube, in which a considerable number of female slaves were lodged, and I observed, that they were waited upon by their owners with all the assiduity of domestics.

The manner of purchasing slaves is described in the plain and unaffected narrative of a German merchant, which, as I have been able to ascertain its general authenticity, may be relied upon as correct in this particular. He arrived at Kaffa, in the Crimea, which was formerly the principal mart of slaves, and hearing, that an Armenian had a Georgian and two Circassian girls to dispose of, he feigned an intention of purchasing them, in order to gratify his curiosity, and to ascertain the mode of conducting such bargains. The girls were introduced to him one after another. A Circassian maiden, eighteen years old, was the first who presented herself: she was well dressed, and her face was covered with a veil. She

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advanced towards the German, bowed down and kissed his hand: by order of her master she walked backwards and forwards in the chamber to show her shape and the easiness of her gait and carriage: her foot was small, and her gesture agreeable. When she took off her veil, she displayed a bust of the most attractive beauty. She rubbed her cheeks with a wet napkin, to prove, that she had not used art to heighten her complexion, and she opened her inviting lips, to show a regular set of teeth of pearly whiteness. The German was permitted to feel her pulse, that he might be convinced of the good state of her health and constitution. She was then ordered to retire while the merchants deliberated upon the bargain. The price of this beautiful girl was four thousand piastres*.

* 4,000 piastres were at that time equal to 4,500 florins of Vienna. See Voyage de Nicholas Ernest Kleeman, fait dans les années 1768, 1769, et 1770. A Neufchatel, 1780, p. 141, 143.

Olivier examined the slave-market in virtue of a *firman*, or special order from the porte. Dr. Pouqueville, in the eagerness of investigation, rushed in and was pushed out again by one of the guards. The short interval between the doctor's intrusion and his ejection was however sufficient, with the aid of an active imagination, to enable him to observe and to describe the build-

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Women who give themselves up to debauchery from mercenary motives, are sometimes treated with severity by the officers of police, and sometimes with cruelty by their jealous or satiated paramours*. "It will

Public women.

ing which surrounds the quadrangle, and the portico or gallery, under which the slaves are exposed for sale in wet weather, seated on a bench placed against the wall of their apartments. The women were divided into small parties or lots of fifteen each, seated on mats, cross-legged, in the middle of the quadrangle: their robes, which were made of a coarse white woollen cloth, announced their sad condition; but they seemed scarcely affected by it, for they were laughing and indulging in the most vehement loquacity. As the rays of the sun were beginning to dart upon the open part of the quadrangle, their keepers were driving them under the portico, where they still continued singing with great gayety. There were three or four hundred of them; but Dr. Pouqueville, though he remarked, that some of them had flaxen hair and blue eyes, yet found none of them deserving the high reputation of the Georgians and Circassians: they were for the most part corpulent women *(femmes)*, and their complexion was of a dead white. The Turkish purchasers examined them merely to ascertain their qualities as animals, they selected the sleekest and best conditioned from the different groups, and besides handling them and examining their make and size, subjected their mouths, their teeth, and whatever chiefly engages attention, to a critical scrutiny. The doctor was preparing to follow, if not to imitate, the purchasers; but the poignard, the oaths, and the menaces of the guard checked his curiosity, and, on being turned out, his steps conducted him *naturally* to pay his tribute of admiration to the mosque of Sancta Sophia! (See Voyages en Morée, &c. v. ii, p. 112.)

* I have frequently heard, during my residence in Pera, of atrocities such as Lady M. W. Montagu mentions (v. iii, p. 7):

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hardly be believed," says D'Ohsson, "that forty Mahometan women of this description are not to be found in all the city of Constantinople*;" nor indeed ought it to be believed, for I have met with a greater number in the course of a single day, nor is their conduct so reserved but that they may easily be distinguished from other women in the public streets by their gait and gesture. The Turkish police is severe without being exact. There are instances of such a venial crime having been punished by tieing up the unfortunate woman in a sack and throwing her into the sea†.

Eunuchs. The situation of the guardians of women in Turkey has been justly observed to be the most pitiable that can be imagined. Separated from themselves, exposed to all the force of the passions, surrounded with every

"About two months ago, there was found at day break, not very far from my house, the bleeding body of a young woman naked, only wrapped in a coarse sheet, with two wounds of a knife, one in her side and another in her breast.—Very little inquiry was made about the murderer, and the corpse was privately buried without noise."

* Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 348.

† Busbequius, however, justly remarks (Epist. iii, p. 123), "Turcæ in occulta flagitia non valde inquirunt, ne locum aperiant calumniæ: manifestaria et comperta graviter puniunt."

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object which can excite desire, and humbled and irritated with the unceasing reflection on their own insignificance*. Montesquieu, indeed, heightens their distress by unveiling to them every charm, and insults their weakness by trusting to their hands, in the most minute detail, the office of preparing pleasures for the tyrant who has annihilated their own. It would indeed be a needless aggravation of their unhappiness, to compel them to live with young and beautiful women, to

* I leave to the judgment of the reader the credibility of the following accounts, which indeed are corroborated by the general opinion of the Franks in Constantinople, founded on I know not what authority. "Qui potentiores sunt, et frequens habent gynæcium ejus custodiæ eunuchos apponunt, non modo testibus captos, sed toto cole: alioqui simplicibus eunuchis se parum tuto mulieres suas putant committere, quod eis superest quo delectari possint, quamvis ad generandum non sint pares." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 122.)

"Et deuez sçauoir qu' au tẽps passé auoient de coustume, quand on chastroit les eunuches leur oster seulemẽt les genitoires: mais Sulthan Mehemet, duquel auons parlé dessus, veit vn iour vn cheual chastré saillir vne iument, et dit qu'il estoit biẽ fol de se fier à ses eunuches qui estoient de la garde de ses femmes et pages, car ils pourroient bien faire comme celuy cheual, et dorenauant ordonna qu' on leur tranchast tout entierement le membre auec les genitoires, ce qu'on fait iusques à ceste heure. Et est si grande la douleur qu' ont ces pauures miserables et malheureux enfans chrestiens quand ils paruiennent à tel martire que si ce n'est aucun de bonne complexion et forte nature tout le demourant en meurt." (Rigaud, généalogie du grand Turc, p. 25.)

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banish the female servants from the *harem*, and to trust to their awkward hands the dressing and undressing, the bathing, the perfuming, and the adorning of every object of their master's affections. What a ridiculous picture is presented of the imperial *harem*, if we allow ourselves to suppose, on the one hand, the eunuchs teazing the women in order to please their master, vexing them from malice and peevishness, and the sentiment of their own nullity*, and, on the other hand, the ladies racking their invention to revenge themselves on the eunuchs, disturbing their repose and breaking their sleep with trifling messages and capricious orders, condemning them to the vilest and most degrading offices, and obliging them to perform a wearisome penance for their severity behind the door of their chamber: both parties mutually insulting, and mutually fearing, each other; careful only to observe the strict line of duty, traced out for both, the least infringement of which subjects the one to corporal chastisement, and authorizes the other to inflict it, and

* See Olivier's travels, v. i, p. 114.

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punish disobedience by a *whipping**. Common sense will not allow us to admit the existence of so childish an establishment; and it would be useless to exercise conjecture on the insipid relation of the eunuchs to the women: yet if the presence of women be so painful to them, how are we to account for the conduct of the *kislar aga*, who, seemingly in mockery of our shallow reasoning, has chosen, as a relaxation from the fatigues of the imperial *harem*, an establishment of the same nature for private and domestic amusement? I would not be thought guilty of the profaneness of prying into the mysteries of the nuptial chamber, or revealing, in unhallowed expressions, its pure and uncon-

* See Montesquieu's lettres Persannes, lettres ii, ix, cxlviii, cliii, clvii. In the second letter is described the ordinary authority of the eunuchs: in the ninth letter the chief eunuch bewails the horrors, the inconveniences, the dangers, and the privileges, of his situation; here he complains of the whipping which he received at the instigation of one of the favourites. "Le jour que je fus fouetté si indignement autour du sérail, qu'avois-je fait?" In the 148th, and the 153rd letters he is invested by his master (a private gentleman) with extraordinary authority, and the power of life and death. But the most ludicrous exertion of his authority is in the 157th letter, "Zachi à Usbek."—"O ciel! un barbare m'a outragée jusques dans la manière de me punir! Il m'a infligé ce châtiment qui commence par alarmer la pudeur; ce châtiment qui met dans l'humiliation extrême; ce châtiment qui ramène, pour ainsi dire, à l'enfance."

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taminated delights; but in relating the following anecdote of the *kislar aga*, I pay but a just tribute to that innate principle of virility which "smiles at the drawn dagger, and defies its point." A lady, in his *harem*, was indisposed *from excess of affection*, and a Tuscan gentleman, surgeon to the grand signor, was sent for and consulted on the occasion. On making his report to the *kislar aga*, he repeated, like an experienced courtier, the endearing expressions which the lady had uttered: the eunuch was enraptured, and interrupted the relation by exclaiming in his childish treble, *kouzoun*, *djyerim*, *djanem*, expressions equivalent to my life, my soul, my dear lambkin; and kissed the lady in imagination with all the rapture of real passion.

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CHAPTER IX.

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

System of Turkish government towards the tributary subjects.—Powers and immunities of the clergy.—Offices of emolument conferred on the rayahs.—Peculiar advantages of the Greeks.—Cause,—and consequences of this distinction.—Exceptions to the usual mode of Turkish government.—Dacia.—Geography of Moldavia and Wallachia;—their departments and dioceses;—seasons, air, and soil;—husbandry and natural productions;—appearance of the country.—Constitution and moral qualities of the inhabitants.—Civil distinctions.—Constitution and government.—Vaivoda or prince:—ceremony of inauguration;—court, officers of state, and body-guards.—Divan or council;—its departments.—Boyars or nobility.—Powers of the divan.—Classes and privileges of the boyars.—Turkish magistrates.—Officers civil and military.—Laws and police.—Revenue and taxes.—Capital cities.—Public establishments.—Manners of the Greeks and the boyars.—Deposed princes.—Foreign relations.

WHILE the Turkish power was in a state of progressive aggrandizement, it was the constant policy of the government to expel

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System of Turkish government towards the tributary subjects.

the nobles and great landed proprietors from those countries which they had incorporated with their empire, and to make a new division of the lands according to the arrangements of their peculiar civil and military system. Under the equal pressure of this new despotism, every idea of nobility and all traces of distinction were effaced from the memory of the inhabitants; and, after a few generations, the posterity of the ancient families could no longer be recognized among the mass of conquered subjects. These were reduced to one common level of servitude: their talents were exerted only to procure the necessary means of subsistence, and were confined to the labours of agriculture, the exercise of the mechanical arts, and the dealings of commerce. The abolition of civil or honourable distinctions, of all which was derived from former institutions or which could tend to perpetuate the memory of past independence, was inevitable, since their existence was incompatible with the safety of the new government*.

* "The families are so fallen from their former splendour that they look more like husbandmen than nobles." Cantemir, p. 186, note 28.

"Hic mihi in mentem venit, quam levis et infirma res sit

The power of the clergy, great as was their authority over the minds of their followers, and odious as it must have appeared to zealots professing adverse doctrines, excited, however, neither jealousy nor animosity. The influence of the clergy, who were detached from the ordinary concerns of life and who had no community of interests with their fellow subjects, presented to a government, whose policy consisted in oppression, a powerful instrument for securing the obedience of the conquered people and for producing general habits of patience and submission. The Ottomans treated with the clergy in their corporate capacity as with a civil power, representative not merely of a sect, but of a nation, over which they had until then exerted only a spiritual authority. Their privileges were confirmed, and their powers augmented; they were invested with

Powers and immunities of the clergy.

quæ vulgo perhibetur, nobilitas. Nam cum de puellis quibusdam, quæ liberaliore erant forma, scire vellem, num quo essent genere, audiebam eas a summis ejus gentis satrapis originem ducere, aut etiam regium esse genus, jam bubulco aut opilioni desponsas. Sic in regno Turcarum jacet nobilitas. Vidi item postea aliis locis Cantacuzenorum et Palæologorum imperatorii generis reliquias, contemptius inter Turcas degentes quam vixit Dionysius Corinthi." (Busbeq. Epist. i, p. 23.)

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temporal authority, were appointed the political overseers of their flock, and were the only authorized and acknowledged organ of the people*.

Offices of emolument conferred on the *rayahs*.

The pride or the indolence of the Turks, which made them disdain, or rendered them averse from attending to, the details of business, encouraged a mercenary emulation among the *rayahs*, to whom they confided the administration of several lucrative, though subaltern, departments. The *rayahs* thus became the bankers, the merchants, the contractors, the agents, of the porte, of the *pashas*, and of the farmers of the different branches of the revenue. They retaliated

* " Les Turcs traitèrent avec le patriarche Gennadius comme avec une puissance; ils l'admirent dans leur conseil, et en lui rendant sa dignité ils s'assurèrent de l'obéissance du peuple entier qu'ils venoient de conquérir." (Chevalier, voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, t. i, p. 117.)

" The influence of the patriarch with the porte is very extensive, as far as his own nation is concerned. His memorials are never denied, and he can, in fact, command the death, the exile, imprisonment for life, deposition from offices, or pecuniary fine, of any Greek he may be inclined to punish with rigour, or who has treated his authority with contempt." (Dallaway, p. 101.)

The Armenian patriarch and the *khakham bashi* or chief rabbin of the Jews, are in like manner the temporal and spiritual heads of their respective communities.

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upon their countrymen the humiliations which their employers forced them to endure, and they practised every refinement of tyranny stimulated by avarice*. Custom and precedent, which in Turkey soon acquire the force of law, have established the Jews in the offices of collecting the customs and of purchasing whatever is required for the use of the seraglio, while they have conferred on the Armenians the direction of the mint: these, however, are the highest civil employments to which either of them can attain.

Peculiar advantages of the Greeks.

It has been supposed, that the Turks, in order to console the Greek descendants of the imperial family for the loss of empire,

* "Les Grecs ont leurs plus grands ennemis parmi eux. Ce sont ces *codja-bachis*, Grecs d'origine, prosternés aux pieds des Turcs, qui vexent avec plus de dureté ceux qu'ils devroient chérir et consoler. Par leur insolence, par leur fierté, et par la bassesse qui les caractérisent éminemment, ils ont établi une ligne de démarcation entre eux et la nation Grecque. Espèce dégénérée, ils ont tous les vices des esclaves, et ne se dédommagent des humiliations que les Turcs leur prodiguent qu'en exerçant le monopole, la délation, et le brigandage le plus révoltant. Dans les temples ils occupent la place voisine de l'autel, ils y déploient l'orgueil du Pharisien, contens d'une triste prérogative achetée au prix du bonheur de leurs compatriotes." "Sous le sabre du Turc, le Grec est esclave; mais sous la puissance de son compatriote, il est spolié et cent fois plus malheureux." (Pouqueville, voyages en Morée, &c. t. i, p. 106, 359.)

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had bestowed on them the government of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; an error which appears to have no other foundation than the assumption of the illustrious name of Cantacuzenus by two persons of obscure family, born in Wallachia, who were raised to the administration of that principality in the seventeenth century*. It appears, on the contrary, that the first prince of Wallachia of Greek extraction, was Nicholas Mavrocordato, son of Alexander the chief interpreter of the Ottoman court who had been appointed minister plenipotentiary of the porte at the congress of Carlovitz in 1699, with the title of *bey* and *mahremi esrar*, or he to whom secrets are revealed†. Since that period the Greeks, by their superior talent for intrigue, and perhaps their greater genius for managing state affairs, have retained among themselves the succession to both principalities, which may now be considered in some degree as a national inheritance. To the Greeks, alone among the *rayahs*, is reserved

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 371, note 25.

† See Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia e Moldavia, p. 21.

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the nomination to posts of honour, if honour in their situation be not inconsistent with public employment.

If an inquiry be made into the origin of this distinction between the privileges conferred on the Greeks and the other tributary subjects of the grand signor, it will perhaps diminish, or efface the little honour which it may seem to bestow. The office of dragoman of the porte, or court-interpreter, was held originally by renegadoes, or apostate Christians, as we find, that Ibrahim, by birth a Pole, was interpreter during the embassy of Busbequius; and Spon mentions another, whose Polish name was Albertus Bobovius, who communicated to Rycaut the materials from which he composed his state of the Ottoman empire. But during the siege of Candia, the Greek physician of the grand vizir Kioprili had so endeared himself to the Turks by his important services that he was appointed dragoman of the porte. Cause,

The Ottoman troops, reduced to a state of exhaustion and despondency by the length of the siege and the new obstacles which the garrison continually opposed, began to murmur, that the strength of the nation was wasted against an impregnable city. The

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vizir, though impelled by the positive threats of the sultan, was frustrated in his efforts by the discontent of the soldiery, and could with difficulty restrain them from an open mutiny. In this dilemma, his embarrassment was aggravated by the intelligence, that the French were coming to the relief of Candia with a fleet and army. The artifices of Panayot, his physician, not only delivered the vizir from his embarrassed situation, but induced the Venetian commander to surrender the city. "I have projected," says the artful Greek, "to invite Morosini the governor to a private parley, and to admonish him as a friend not to trust to the French fleet, because their designs are worse than those of the Turks. I shall easily gain credit, as well by my known profession of the Christian religion as by my feigned zeal for the welfare of Christendom, and hope to inspire him with the purpose of surrendering the city." The success of his project established the credit of Panayot in the Turkish court, "which was so great," says Cantemir, "that no Christian before him ever did, and, it is believed, that none after him ever will, enjoy the like." At his death, which happened during the expedition against

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Kaminiec, he requested and obtained, that his body might be sent for burial to Constantinople, an honour usually granted to the sultans alone. His death was lamented, and his services were publicly acknowledged by the vizir; and his merit is imputed to his nation and successors*.

Alexander Mavrocordato succeeded, by similar arts, to the same honours as Panayot. By his influence his son Nicholas was promoted, first to the principality of Moldavia and afterwards to that of Wallachia; when, in the true spirit of an enfranchized slave, he merited by his tyranny and the vexations of his government a comparison with Nero.

The post of court-interpreter and the appointment to the two principalities excited the ambition of the Greeks; and many, forsaking the paths of vulgar industry, sent their children to study physic and foreign languages in the universities of Italy. The flame spread, and a spirit of intrigue was communicated to the Greeks: those who were possessed of wealth and talents assisted their claim to precedency by forged genealo- and consequences of this distinction.

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 258, note 6.

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gies, and prepared their way to power by fraud or violence, unrestrained by the common precepts or principles of morality*. The offices in the different departments of government were insufficient to employ, and inadequate to satisfy, the crowd of claimants who presented themselves. The foiled competitors, who obtained at least by their defeat the means of undermining their absent rivals, alternately protruded each other from power; the ministers of the porte encouraged the ambitious pretensions of all parties, and multiplied their own emoluments by a rapid mutation of offices. The Turkish government, impartial in its choice, measured merit only by the golden standard, and reconciled its implied promises of support with its wishes to advance a rival, by the interposition of the knife or the bowstring, the gibbet or poison. Hence arose a Greek nobility and gentry, attached to the distinguished houses by interest or consan-

* Gika, prince of Wallachia, was deprived of his dignity by the indirect practices of his son Gregory, who resided at Constantinople as his father's *capu kiahya*, or agent at the Ottoman porte. "He told the vizir, that his father was old and sometimes had not the use of his senses; by which means he got him turned out, and was appointed prince of Wallachia in his room." (See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 278, note 5.)

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guinity, and continually occupied in plots and cabals. These men have forsaken their workshops and warehouses, and pass their lives in soliciting, or in abusing, authority; or in wasting in tremulous luxury and ostentation the fruits of rapine and extortion.

Exceptions to the usual mode of Turkish government.

The order of government, which the Turks substituted in the place of the institutions which they abolished throughout their new conquests, has been already explained. Their system, which appears to have been adopted because the chief wants of the state were thereby provided for without any diminution of the public treasure, and with great satisfaction to the military themselves, was however relinquished in some few instances, and chiefly in the constitution of government established in the tributary provinces of Egypt, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Selim rather capitulated with the Mamelukes than conquered them: he left the internal government of Egypt to the *beys*, and endeavoured to balance their power by the authority of the *pasha*, his vicegerent. Wallachia submitted to the force of the Ottoman arms in the year 1418. Moldavia surrendered its liberties to Soliman the First in 1529. The Turks, considering both

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principalities as fiefs of the empire, exacted from them only the payment of tribute, without interfering in the interior government. They however established, under cover of the paramount authority of the sultan, a system of pillage, which has been gradually carried to a greater excess, and is practised with more impunity, than could be done over the subjects of the Ottoman porte in those provinces which are incorporated with the empire. But previously to the description of the government and present state of a country which is now become of the highest importance in the politics of Europe, it will be necessary to take a rapid survey of its past history, to point out its geographical position, and to describe the nature and quality of the soil, climate, and inhabitants.

Dacia.

Dacia was annexed to the Roman empire in the reign of Trajan, after an obstinate contention during five years with the fierceness and strength of the Barbarians, and the unconquerable patriotism of their king Decebalus. The labours of this warfare are still recorded on the column which Trajan erected in his forum at Rome, as a monument of his Dacian victories.

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The province of Dacia comprehended the countries situated beyond the Danube, and distinguished in modern geography by the names of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transilvania, and the bannat of Temeswar. In the year 270 the emperor Aurelian relinquished the sovereignty of the Transdanubian provinces, and withdrew the Roman troops and colonists to his new province of hither Dacia*. Such of the inhabitants as chose to remain became incorporated with the Goths, and served as the medium of intercourse between their brethren on the other side of the river, and these new settlers. The policy of Aurelian was justified by the event, and the extensive province, which the Romans had been unable to defend, opposed, during a long period, a firm barrier, after it became independent, against the incursions of the savages of the north.

Dacia continued in the possession of the Barbarians, who alternately yielded to, or incorporated themselves with, successive hordes of more powerful invaders. During

* New Dacia was a dismemberment of the province of Mœsia, and was subdivided into Dacia Ripensis, on the banks of the Danube, Dacia Mediterranea, the territory of Nissa, and Dacia Prævalitana, which extended towards Albania. (See Peyssonnel, observations historiques et géographiques, &c. p. 3.)

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the declension of the Roman empire, the inhabitants of Dacia subsisted in peace or war by pasturage and pillage. They issued occasionally from their woody retreats, crossed the Danube in their light boats made out of a single tree, and marked their inroads into Bulgaria and Thrace with blood and ruin, even to the suburbs of Constantinople.

When the dominions of the Gothic king were invaded by the Huns, whom, from their greater fierceness, the Goths themselves denominated Barbarians, the Visigoths under Athanaric occupied in their retreat the country which lies between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube, and were preparing to defend it by the construction of strong lines; but the dismayed Goths, distrusting their own valour and their means of resistance, implored the protection of the emperor Valens, and obtained permission to cross the Danube: they were received as guests and settlers in the Roman empire, which they afterwards so powerfully contributed to subvert.

In the treaty of peace which Attila, king of the Huns, dictated to the Romans, his sovereignty over those countries was confirmed, and for the convenience of his Da-

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cian subjects it was stipulated, that a safe and plentiful market should be established on the southern bank of the Danube. After the death of Attila and the extinction of his empire, Dacia became the seat of a new but transitory power, erected under Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ: it was destroyed by the victory of the Lombards and their confederates, and was succeeded by the empire of the Chagans, which subsisted with splendour above two hundred and thirty years. Batou, grandson of Jenghiz Khan, although he carried his arms into these provinces, appears not to have disturbed the general government, which was that of petty princes under the protection of the kings of Hungary.

In the reign of Ladislaus the First, Radulus, or Radulphus, surnamed the Swarthy, erected into a principality the country situated between the Siret and the Alt, which is now called Wallachia Proper. The bannat of Crajova, or Lower Wallachia, continued dependent on the kings of Hungary, and was given to the knights of Jerusalem, who, under the title of *bans* or viceroys, governed the country, and afforded protection to pilgrims passing from Germany to the Holy Land. Bogdan, or Theodosius, assumed the government of Moldavia. Both principalities were

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originally held as fiefs of the kingdom of Hungary; but when they had afterwards increased in strength, and formed alliances with the kings of Poland, they asserted their independence.

According to Cantemir, Stephen, prince of Moldavia, alarmed at the conquests of the Turks over the Hungarians, the Tartars and the Wallachians, and fearing to rely either on the Poles or the Germans, advised with his last breath the surrender of his country to the Ottoman power in the name of a fief, if the inhabitants could obtain peace on honourable terms, together with the preservation of their civil and ecclesiastical laws. Soliman accepted their homage; for the Turks aimed at nothing more than to subject an enemy to the payment of a small sum of money under whatever name, which, having once obtained, they soon found means of reducing to a real tribute. He left them the privilege of electing their own governors on every vacancy, subject to the approbation of the porte, a privilege which both principalities appear to have enjoyed and abused, until the beginning of the eighteenth century*. Since

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 202, note 67. Deme-

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that period the *boyars* are no longer consulted in the choice of their governors, and the scene of intrigue is transferred from Yassy and Bukarest to the porte, and the Fanal of Constantinople*.

Geography of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Temeswar and Transilvania are now annexed to the dominions of the house of Austria, and Moldavia and Wallachia to those of the porte. These two principalities (which lie between 43°. 55′. and 48°. 35′. north latitude, and 23°. and 29°. 35′. east longitude) are divided from Poland by the Dniester, and the small tract of country called Bukovina, which has been ceded to the house of

trius Cantemir himself, on the death of his father Constantine, in 1693, was chosen his successor by the unanimous voice of the Moldavian *boyars*, but the election was not at that time confirmed by the porte. On the rebellion of Cantemir and his flight into Russia, the porte withdrew the privilege, and has continued, since that time, to appoint the princes both to Moldavia and Wallachia without consulting the *boyars*. "They formerly contended for their privileges," says Cantemir, "but now the tyranny of the Turks forces them to submit not only their timber, but their heads, to the axe." General Baür (mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie, chap. iii, p. 264. Paris 1781) says, that the election of Constantine Mavrocordato to the principality, in 1730, is the last instance of the exercise of this great prerogative by the *boyars* of Wallachia.

* The Fanal is a district of Constantinople in which is the metropolitan church, and where the principal Greek families reside. It is situated on the side of the harbour.

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Austria*. The Carpathian mountains separate them from Transilvania and from the Bannat as far as Mehadia†, the Danube from Bulgaria, and the Pruth from the desert of Bessarabia. The course of the Milkow, which descends from the Carpathians and falls into the Siret, and the latter river from the point of confluence till it reaches the Danube between Ibraïl and Galatz, fix the respective boundaries of the principalities.

The inhabitants distinguish that part of ancient Dacia which is tributary to the Ottoman porte by the name of *Zara Rumanesca*, or the Roman empire. The Turkish name is *Iflak*, a corrupt pronunciation of Wallachia, though Moldavia is frequently called *Bogdan*, a word derived, according to D'Herbelot, from the Sclavonian name of the Christian princes of Mœsia. By way of

* The cession of this territory, which after much discussion was made to the Court of Vienna in the year 1776, has opened a passage to the Austrian troops into the heart of both the principalities.

† " Ces montagnes sont comptées parmi les plus hautes et les plus grandes de la terre—leur largeur varie de dix à quinze lieues.—C'est la barrière la plus forte que la nature ait pu donner contre toute insulte de ce côté-là. Il y a peu de passages, et ils sont très difficiles; de sorte qu'un petit nombre d'hommes peut aisément les défendre contre des forces infiniment supérieures." (Baür, chap. ii, p. 217.)

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distinction, Moldavia is also called *Cara Iflak*, and Wallachia *Ak Iflak**.

* The Turkish name of Moldavia has given rise to a mistake which originated with Leunclavius (who appears to have been but imperfectly acquainted with the Turkish language), and which has been propagated by succeeding travellers. "Moldavia," he says, "is called by the Turks Carabogdania, which signifies *the land of black wheat*, because the country abounds with wheat that is black." I am so little versed in agricultural affairs as to be ignorant even of the existence of *black* wheat (unless it be buck-wheat, which however is not much cultivated in either principality), but I may venture to affirm, that the name of *Cara Bogdan* by no means warrants the assertion, that *black wheat* abounds in Moldavia. To inquire into the reason of the term *black* being applied to this division of the country would be an useless labour; and I have indeed pointed out Leunclavius's error, chiefly because it gives me an opportunity of introducing an observation, which seems to suggest matter of inquiry as to the earlier history of the Turkish nation. *Bogdan*, the name of a man, signifies, in the Sclavonic language, "the gift of God," and is synonimous with the Greek *Theodosius*, or the Italian *Diodati*. But the Turkish name for wheat is *bogday*, which equally implies "the gift of God;" and as it is not derived from words radically Turkish, it supports the conjecture, that the knowledge of this useful grain was communicated to the Turks by the Sclavonic nations who inhabited the country on the north of the Caucasus, whither the Turks, at a very remote period, appear to have retired, and to have lived so secluded from intercourse with other people as either to have forgotten the use of bread and the very name of wheat, or at least to have been so long deprived of it that, on its being restored to them, they adopted for it a new name, not expressive of its qualities, but of their own gratitude. It has also occurred to me (though I found no hypothesis on what is perhaps only an accidental resemblance), that the Tuscan word *augur* bears great affinity to the Turkish *aughour*, "auspicious, of good omen;" and I think it not im-

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Both provinces are intersected by the numberless torrents which descend from the Carpathian mountains, and augment the stream of the Danube. Their fountains determine the natural limits between Austrian and Turkish Dacia; those which flow to the south belonging to Wallachia, and the northern streams to Transilvania.

From the snowy summit of the Carpathian ridge, the mountain, covered with lofty woods, gradually declines, and extends its skirts over the country, forming the sublimest and most romantic scenery, terminating in hills covered with vineyards, and opening into bays and vallies of the greatest fertility and beauty. Great part of the remaining space of country towards the Danube, from the mouth of the Siret to the fortress of Orsova, is a level and marshy plain, from twelve to twenty leagues broad.

The southern frontier of Moldavia is comprised between the mouths of the Siret and the Pruth, and possesses the advantage of a port accessible to merchant ships of the greatest burthen.

Both provinces abound in rich pastures

probable, that the Turks cultivated augury and divination, like the Druids, the Epirots, and other people inhabiting deep and romantic forests.

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and extensive forests, and are watered with innumerable streams and rivers; many of which are, or might be made, navigable*.

The political division of Wallachia is into seventeen circles, and that of Moldavia into twenty. The hierarchal division of Wallachia is into three dioceses, over which the metropolitan or archbishop of Bukarest and two bishops exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moldavia has an archbishop and three bishops. The convents and churches are oppressively numerous: they almost cover the face of the country, and every where occupy the best situations. their departments and dioceses;

The winter is long and uncommonly severe, particularly in Moldavia, which is exposed to the first fury of the north-east wind, rendered more keen by its passage over an immense and snowy tract of level and open country. The water in the deepest wells has sometimes been known to freeze, and the Danube to be covered with ice of prodigious thickness. The spring begins in April. In June the south-west wind occa- seasons, air, and soil;

* "Les principales rivières de la Valachie, comme le Siret, la Jalowitza, l'Argis et l'Olta, sont navigables; mais elles ne portent que des bateaux plats. Le Danube, dont le courant a de 18 à 60 pieds de profondeur jusqu' aux environs de Hirsowa, en porte de toute espèce." Baür, chap. ii, p. 214.

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sions periodical returns of rain, thunder and lightning, at nearly the same hour, for a short continuance. In this month the south wind, by increasing the melting of the snow on the mountains, sometimes occasions inundations. In July and August the heats are excessive, but the nights are cold. The rainy season returns in September, and the most delightful and temperate weather succeeds, and continues to the middle of November. About this time the north-east wind first announces the winter, and sometimes introduces it by a heavy fall of snow.

The city of Bukarest was almost destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1802, but such calamities are rarely felt in either principality. The air in general is pure and wholesome, and the soil is proper for the production of every species of grain and pulse.

husbandry and natural productions.

They commonly plough with six oxen and make a very deep furrow. They never employ manure; but after a crop of corn leave the land fallow for a season, and then sow it, either with wheat, or barley, or Indian corn. In virgin land, of which from the neglect of culture there is much in both provinces, they plant cabbages the first year, which

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grow to a prodigious size, or cucumbers which succeed equally well. By these means they extract and temper the salts with which such lands abound, and besides destroy the weeds and herbs, whose growth is checked by the spreading leaves of both plants which prevent their coming to seed*.

The cultivation of the vine is general on the slopes of hills which afford a suitable exposition. The wine, though made without art, is pleasant and wholesome†. It is exported in great quantities to Russia and Transilvania. Its strength and spirit are increased by a process, common among the rich proprietors, and practised also in Russia. At the first approach of a severe cold, the wine butts are exposed to the severity of the weather in the open air: in a few nights, the

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 53. Carra, histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, p. 152. Paris 1781. Baür, chap. ii, p. 218.

† "Le vin n'est pas seulement bon, mais il est abondant. Il y en a qui le dispute en bonté avec celui de Hongrie." Baür, chap. ii, p. 219. "Les vins d'Odobezd en Moldavie et de Pietra en Valachie sont les meilleurs. Cet article principalement est susceptible d'amélioration; car le vigneron ne sait pas ce que c'est que de sarcler la vigne ni de lui donner deux ou trois façons, comme en Bourgogne; il se contente de remuer la terre une fois l'an autour du cep, et laisse ensuite croître l'herbe de tous côtés." Carra, p. 163.

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body of wine is encircled with a thick crust of ice; this is perforated by means of a hot iron, and the wine, thus deprived of its aqueous parts, is drawn off clear, strong, and capable of being preserved for a long time*. The wines somewhat resemble the light Provence wine, called *cassis*, they may be drunk even to ebriety without injury to the general health. The wheat in both principalities is excellent: its quality is between the hard red wheat and the white and mealy. The season of harvest is in the month of June. Immediately after being gathered in, the corn is trodden out by horses and cattle, and is laid up in pits. Barley is the common food of horses, as well in Wallachia and Moldavia as throughout the Turkish dominions. Oats and rye are rarely sown. Indian corn is much cultivated on account of its nutritious quality and abundant produce: it also requires less labour, and, being sown in the spring, is less exposed to accident and less liable to disappoint the hopes of the

* Ovid (de tristibus, l. iii, el. x, ver. 23, 24) notices, though with a little poetical licence, a similar practice at Tomi in Bulgaria, the place of his banishment.

" Udaque consistunt formam servantia testæ
Vina; nec hausta meri, sed data frusta bibunt."

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farmer. The meal of Indian corn is made into a thick pottage, called *mamalika*, and is the basis of the people's food in both principalities. Flax and hemp are sown only in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the inhabitants.

The mountains and the plains are covered or diversified with woods and forests of the most useful trees. The oak is frequently seen of two or three feet in diameter, and furnishes timber solid and compact: the pines and firs are common on the mountains*. There are besides beeches, maples, elms, and ashes of different kinds, limes, poplars, walnut and white mulberry trees, of which last kind there are many plantations for the purpose of feeding silk worms. The woods formed of these majestic trees are peopled with innumerable races of singing birds. The note of the nightingale is sweeter and more frequent in the forests of Wallachia than in any other part of Europe, and its melody heightens the charm which is expe-

* "Le chêne sur-tout est d'une grandeur et d'une bonté particulieres.—Il y a dans les montagnes une espèce de sapin plus noble que le sapin ordinaire; son écorce est blanchâtre, l'arbre fort haut, fort droit et presque sans nœuds; il donne des mâts excellens, et il est très propre à faire des bâtimens de mer." Baür, chap. ii, p. 221.

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rienced in travelling through that country in the beautiful evenings of the summer season. The fruit trees which are the most common, are the apple, one of which appears natural to the climate; it bears, without culture, a fruit called *domniasca*, which is perhaps the finest in Europe, both for size, odour, and flavour: the pear, the plum, the cherry, the peach, the apricot, the service, the walnut, and the hazel nut, come to great perfection with little culture. The climate is however unfavourable to the growth both of the olive and the fig-tree. The wood strawberry is every where to be met with, and the air is perfumed with wild flowers and aromatic herbs. Asparagus is the natural produce of the soil, the mushrooms are plentiful and of excellent quality; the cucumbers, the melons, and water-melons form a chief article of food to the common people; the cabbage spreads to an enormous size, and the Jerusalem artichoke, *yer elmasi*, thrives and is propagated with little labour or attention. The chief source of wealth in both principalities, is, however, their abundant and nutritive pasturages. The sheep and goats in Wallachia are estimated at four millions: these are driven at different seasons of the year, from

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the banks of the Danube to the summit of the Carpathian mountains: the flesh is excellent, and the annual exportation of wool into Germany amounts to several thousand bales. The oxen, and principally those of Moldavia, are large and fleshy: a great number are sold into Silesia and other foreign countries*. The buffalo thrives in Wallachia, though it must be carefully tended, as it suffers equally from the excessive heat of summer and the cold of winter. This animal is of the highest utility as well from its prodigious strength, as from the abundance and nutritious quality of its milk. There are various breeds of horses: the best races, which are those of Moldavia, are bought up in great numbers for the service of the Austrian and Prussian cavalry: they are well shaped, are remarkable for the soundness of their hoofs, and possess both spirit and docility. The carriage and draft horses are small but active, and capable of resisting fatigue. They live in the open air in all seasons, and

* "On compte près de trente mille bêtes à cornes qui sortent de la Valachie pour la Bosnie, d'où elles passent à Constantinople; et vingt mille bêtes à cornes avec cinq ou six mille chevaux de la Moldavie qui passent par la Pologne pour la Silésie, la Moravie et le Brandeburgh." Carra, p. 164.

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in the winter when the ground is covered with snow, are frequently attacked by the wolves, who come in great numbers, and when pressed by hunger are destructive, not only to the herds and flocks, but to the traveller and the inhabitant*. Domestic fowls, and game of all kinds are in great plenty. Water birds are numerous on the lakes and the Danube, which also abound with various kinds of fish. Deer and wild goats are frequent on the mountains, and the hares are in such numbers in the plains that the peasants in Wallachia and Moldavia are said to hunt down upwards of half a million with their dogs, when the fall of snow through the winter is considerable. The honey and wax are of the finest quality, and are among the richest productions of the country: the climate seems indeed peculiarly favourable to the noble insect which produces them†.

* In the studs there is generally a stallion to ten mares who serves them as guardian and conductor. When a stud is attacked by the wolves, the stallions assemble, and collect together the mares and foals by their loud and repeated neighings: the mares form a circle round the foals, with their heads turned towards the centre: the stallions arrange themselves on different points, and repel the wolves with their heels if they are bold enough to attack them, and generally defend themselves so vigorously that the wolves are forced to retreat. (See Osservazioni, &c. p. 79.)

† Carra (p. 166), and the author of the osservazioni (p. 89), mention, among the productions of Moldavia, a kind of green

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The mineral productions are natural tar, salt, and nitre. The salt is of the purest crystal and the mines are considered to be inexhaustible*: the prince of Moldavia is obliged to send every year to Constantinople a contribution of twenty thousand *okes*, or twenty-five tons of nitre. The riches contained in the bowels of the earth and the vast range of the Carpathian mountains are however unexplored, though there are several indications of their containing metallic substances†.

Appearance of the country.

The attention of the traveller is wholly absorbed in contemplating the beauty of the varying landscape, and the fertility of the soil, which is improved by a rich, though inadequate, cultivation. De Tott compares Moldavia to the province of Burgundy. I have traversed both principalities in every direction, and retrace with vivid pleasure the

wax which is very scarce; it is deposited by bees, smaller than the common ones, on certain plants, from which it is collected, though but in small quantities. It is made into tapers which diffuse an exquisite perfume when they are lighted.

* In the year 1755, the quantity of salt taken out of the mines of Wallachia was 25 million okes, or about 28,000 tons. The mine in Moldavia yields annually 10 million okes of salt. (See Baür, chap. iv, p. 324. Carra, p. 168.)

† See Carra, p. 155. Baür, chap. ii, p. 224. Peyssonnel, observations historiques, &c. p. 111.

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impressions left by their grand and romantic scenery; the torrents rushing down the precipices and winding through the vallies, the delightful fragrance of the lime flower, and the herbs crushed by the browzing flock, the solitary hut of the shepherd on the brow of the mountain, the mountain itself rising far above the clouds, covered over its whole surface, except in the snowy regions, with a deep bed of vegetable earth, and every where adorned with lofty and majestic forest trees, or with rich and lively verdure:—all this assemblage of beauty, which once gratified my sight, still interests me in the picture which memory retains *.

The locusts, the curse to which countries are most exposed where nature has been most prodigal of her gifts, sometimes infest and spread desolation over this delightful region. They even pass the lofty ridge of the Car-

* "J'ai vu presque toutes les contrées de l'Europe: en vérité je n'en connois aucune où la distribution des plaines, des collines et des montagnes soit aussi admirable pour l'agriculture et la perspective, qu'en Moldavie et en Valachie." Carra, p. 154. "La plus grande partie des montagnes ressemble aux plus beaux jardins; les ruisseaux qui s'en précipitent avec un doux et agréable murmure, roulent dans les plaines une eau claire et saine, et arrosent en les traversant les vallons les plus agréables: on les diroit formés exprès pour offrir aux yeux la plus belle vue qu'on puisse imaginer." Baür, chap. ii, p. 220.

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pathian mountains, and light upon Transilvania, where a provident government has called out its regiments to disperse and destroy them with the report of cannon and the smoke of gunpowder.

Constitution and moral qualities of the inhabitants.

The Dacians were the most warlike of men. I treasure up such facts, because they serve to strengthen the conviction which I have received from surveying the manners of many people, that of all the evils which can possibly befall a state, the worst is subjection to a foreign power. The modern inhabitants, instead of the rude and hardy virtues which distinguished their barbarian ancestors, instead of the dignified manliness which constituted the Roman character, retain only a stubbornness in refusing what they know will be wrested from them, an obstinacy in withholding what they dare not defend: they seem to think it folly to yield until they have been beaten, though they do not even dream of making resistance*.

* Tacitus (Germania, c. 1) says, that the Dacians were separated from the warlike Germans by the mutual dread of invading each other:—nor did they entirely lose their character for bravery until they fell under the unheard-of ignominy of being tyrannized over by a foreign slave. Chalcondylas (l. ii, p. 24), relates, with due commendation, their successful resistance and harassing pursuit of Sultan Bajazet, when he invaded Wallachia: he says of them,

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The peasants call themselves *rumun*, or Roman, by which they are distinguished, as a term of reproach, from the *boyars* or nobles. Their language is a corruption of the Latin, somewhat resembling the Italian, but considerably more debased by barbarian mixture*.

" Dacorum gens bello præstantissima est, nec tamen admodum bonis gubernatur legibus. Vicos plerunque incolunt, sequentes pascua." Cantemir (p. 125, 188, 325), and Montalbanus (ap. Elzevir. p. 90), speak of them as free-booters and pirates, both by land and sea, and as uniting their forces, under the command of their own princes, with those of the Turks in their military expeditions. Marsigli (t. i, p. 101), says, that each principality was bound to furnish a corps of cavalry, though he was told by the Turks themselves, that they considered them to be useful only in relieving their own troops from unpleasant services. " Quos, velut ad hebetandas hostium vires et furorem, in prælia primos impellunt—vile istorum damnum reputantibus Turcis." (Montalbanus, p. 21). And yet they must have been of great utility, as irregular cavalry, in Turkish warfare. " Tartarorum more incedunt, ac præliantur, vacuos binos aut tres equos singuli trahentes, quos uno alterove fesso mutuant; in excursionibus idcirco veloces famam adventu ipso prævenientes. Tartarorum item ex consuetudine armantur.—Feroces, adversusque omnia sæva firmati sunt: pace infidi, bello non spernendi." (p. 90.) The emperor of Austria has many Wallach regiments in his armies, and they are found to possess all the requisite military qualities.

* See Chalcondylas, l. ii, p. 24. " Cette langue dérive en grande partie du latin, comme par exemple les mots *pouiné* panis, *mouiné* mane, *apa* aqua, *vinn* vinum, *venouto* ventus, &c. en partie du sclavon ou russe, comme *slouga* serviteur, *prapadito* perdu. Il s'y est introduit d'ailleurs un certain nombre de mots Turcs et Tartares, qui tous ensemble forment un langage barbare et corrompu, qui n'offre nulle énergie, nul goût, et nulle idée abstraite." Carra, p. 195,

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The appearance of the modern inhabitants in their summer dress is precisely the same as that of the ancient, which is represented on Trajan's column. A savage figure dressed in a shirt of coarse linen girt round the waist, and a pair of long drawers; a hatchet hanging at the girdle, a sheep skin thrown over the left shoulder and fastened on the breast, and sandals of undressed leather on the feet. Their hardy exterior is strikingly contrasted with their real imbecility; for they are humbled by slavery even into the belief, that they are weak. The few Turks who travel through their country, the Greeks who pillage rather than govern it, the Germans and Russians who generally occupy it at the first opening of the campaign, all employ the same coercive measures. An Austrian corporal distributes blows, before he condescends to explain in what manner he must be obeyed. The necessary consequence of such mode of proceeding is, that the traveller in these countries can seldom procure for himself any convenience or accommodation beyond the common necessaries, and these he must frequently think a luxury. Every one flies at his approach if he be attended

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by the officers of the prince, and if no one remains to be beaten, he can with difficulty obtain the common comforts of fire and straw, to dress his food or to make his bed. De Tott describes such treatment as necessary, and indeed few people in authority have recourse to any other. I however hazarded an experiment. I travelled with a French gentleman from Constantinople to Vienna. On leaving Bukarest the prince had insisted on our taking an escort of three soldiers of his body guard, and our arrival in the villages on the road consequently spread the usual alarm, and excited the usual distrust, but nothing was more easy than to re-establish confidence; a few *paras* given to the children, or if none were there, a few *paras* to the peasant with orders to buy without limitation a small quantity of the best wine in the village, and a little present on his return, as it convinced the villagers, that we meant to extort nothing, procured us abundance. I never experienced more ready service, and though the extraordinary expense was too trifling to be noticed, we never left a house without being attended by the whole family, and sometimes by all the men

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in the village, who voluntarily supported our carriage across the rugged or miry passages at the entrance of it.

The predominant religion in both principalities is that of the Greek church. The inhabitants are indeed attached to its rites and ceremonies, and tremble at its denunciations; but it does not appear, perhaps because their spiritual, tyrannize over them no less than their temporal, superiors, that they feel for their religion the same ardour of affection which I have observed among the Greeks in Turkey. Religion, indeed, when administered, not by an equal or a fellow sufferer, but by a master, has not the mild and beneficent character which endears it to its votaries. The ringing of bells, or beating with two wooden hammers on a long piece of wood suspended in the belfries, is the most troublesome expression of their devotion. On the morning of a great holiday the clatter is inconceivable in the city of Bukarest, where indeed there are more churches and convents than would suffice for all the parishes in both principalities. The chief amusement of the people on their holidays is dancing. The Wallach dance is an expression of languor: the air is simple and

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monotonous, and the gesture a careless voluptuousness: the dancing couple hold each other by the hands, which they lift above their heads: the step is a motion alternately backwards and forwards, corresponding with the expression of compliance and refusal, repeated, without variation, through a courtship of three quarters of an hour*.

The inhabitants of the mountains are afflicted with the same glandular accretion which is observed in the Alps: its appearance is disgusting, and is so far from being considered as a beauty by the natives that the dress of the women is purposely calculated to conceal the neck and the throat. In its excess it causes all that is human, as well in the mind, as the body, of those who are afflicted with it, to disappear.—They are perfect idiots. I remember the uneasy sensation which I experienced, when after a long and fatiguing journey we reached our resting place in a village among the mountains. The inhabitants of a dark cottage were dislodged to make room for us, and I had ordered the chamber which we were to occupy to be cleared and swept; but on approaching the fire I observed a person sitting among

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 117.

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the embers on the hearth. I was peevish, if not angry with the peasant, who immediately drew from the chimney corner by the nape of the neck—a naked mummy, for so it appeared to me: the body wasted to supply the enormous excrescence on the neck, the spindle shanks shrunk up, the long arms hanging down the sides, and showing no sign of life except a vacant and frightful stare. I confess I felt horror. I was stung with remorse at depriving the poor creature of the only comforts which it seemed capable of enjoying; but my humanity yielded to stronger and more selfish feelings, and I could not resolve to eat and to sleep in such company.

In the plains the natives seldom attain to the age of seventy years, they are even old at sixty; but this is owing to other causes than the climate, for chronical diseases are unknown, and bilious and intermittent fevers, though frequent, are seldom fatal *.

* " La quantité de marais et d'eaux stagnantes dans les vallons et les prairies, l'épaisseur et la profondeur des forêts, l'humidité naturelle de tant de terres incultes, qui se trouvent sans cesse couvertes de l'herbe desséchée et pourrie de l'année précédente, sont les causes secondes du vice qui règne dans l'atmosphère de ces climats." Carra, p. 151.

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Civil distinctions.

The number of inhabitants in both principalities is calculated to amount to a million of souls*; a population very inadequate to a territory of such extent, so fertile and so rich in the variety of its productions. If the inhabitants enjoyed the blessings of regular government, if their industry was unshackled, and the fruits of their labour were secured to them, their numbers would speedily and necessarily increase from the great facility of obtaining a comfortable subsistence. They possess the unalienable riches of nature, which, far from being exhausted, would multiply even beyond the demands of an increasing population†.

The subjects of the country, exclusively of the privileged classes of *boyars* and ecclesiastics, are the *rumuns* (Moldavian and Wallachian peasantry and burghers), and the still more abject class of *chinganehs* or

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 209. Carra (p. 155) reckons only 500,000 inhabitants in both principalities, but this estimate is inconsistent with his own calculation of 170,000 persons who pay the taxes and contributions.

† "Il est affligeant qu'un pays si beau, d'un sol si fertile, sous un ciel si heureux, soit si peu peuplé; je suis persuadé qu'il pourroit nourrir cinq ou six fois plus d'habitans qu'il n'en contient actuellement." Baür, chap. ii, p. 231. "Il y a tout au plus un quarantieme du pays défriché et mis en terres labourables." Carra, p. 161.

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gypsies: these people are distinguished by the peculiar Ethiopian cast of features and complexion which marks their race in every country in Europe. In the Ottoman empire the *chinganehs* do not form a distinct sect: they adopt the religion of the country in which they are tolerated, though they are said to preserve, and to incorporate with it, the traditional superstitions of their ancestors. In Romelia they are Mussulmans and consequently free. In Moldavia and Wallachia they are Christians of the Greek communion; for the most part domestic slaves, the coachmen, cooks, confectioners, bakers, and menial servants, of the nobility; bandied about according to the caprice of their brutal masters, and beaten wantonly and unmercifully: themselves are the lowest of mankind: a propensity to irregular desires indicates itself from their tender years; they are of a spiteful and malignant disposition, slovenly in their habits, and universally thieves. Those of the *chinganehs* who are free, breed cattle and horses, manufacture spoons, or other household utensils, of wood, and carry on a small traffic in articles of common use and little value. Offences of a serious nature, such as the stealing of cattle, high-way rob-

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beries, and assassinations are generally traced to the *chiñganehs**.

The *rumuns* are indeed burthened and oppressed with imposts and taxes, but they are protected in their persons, by the law, from the capricious ill-usage of private individuals. The municipal magistrates and the officers of government are alone empowered to inflict corporal punishment. The *rumuns* cultivate the lands of the *boyars* and other proprietors, and pay a tenth part of the produce to the land-holder, who besides reserves to himself several valuable privileges, and among others, the exclusive right of selling wine and brandy on his own estate. If they are dissatisfied with their master, they quit their habitations, and pass over to the estate of another with their families and moveables. But the exactions of a rapacious government cannot be warded off or eluded. "As I traversed Moldavia," says De Tott, "I beheld them gathering the eleventh capitation for the year, although it was then but the month of October†." Under such oppres-

* Peyssonnel (observations historiques, &c. p. 111) says, that in Moldavia the *chinganehs* are bought and sold at very low prices, though not to strangers, as the landed proprietors are unwilling to suffer them to quit the country.

† Memoirs, v. ii, p. 29.

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sions, where every one is forced to contribute in proportion to his profits, they naturally avoid labour, of which they cannot hope to reap the fruits; they exert no ingenuity, and apply themselves to no new branches of industry; they scarcely even retain the practice of those arts which are most essentially necessary; the mechanical arts are left to foreigners from the neighbouring states, who are protected from injustice by the influence of their own governments: the natives become indolent, because they cannot ameliorate their condition by exertion, as they become treacherous, because treachery is constantly employed to discover, and to extort, their scanty savings. Their features are contracted by care and anxiety; their bodies are debilitated by idleness and deficiency of nutriment; and drunkenness, as it lightens the immediate pressure of misery, completes in them the debasement of the distinguishing faculties of rational nature.

Constitution and government.

The form of government established in both principalities is that of a limited monarchy. The prince represents the sovereign, and the *divan*, which is composed of the principal *boyars*, the senate. The power of the prince is, however, controllable only in

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his financial operations, in fixing the rate of contributions, or determining the mode of raising them: these must be conducted with the advice and consent of the council; and if they are unanimous, they overrule the opinion of the prince.

Vaivoda or prince;

The prince, though restrained in the power of levying arbitrary exactions, is invested in every other respect with regal, though precarious, authority. He assumes the state and magnificence of a sovereign. The porte confers on him the title of *vaivoda*, a Sclavonic name originally signifying the general of an army, but given by the kings of Poland to the governors of provinces. The republic of Venice first used the title of serene highness in addressing the *vaivodas*, though their position be very different from that of the independent princes of Germany and Italy. The dress of ceremony of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia differs from that of the Turkish governors only in the covering of the head. They formerly wore in their caps the *sorgudj*, or plume of heron's feathers set in a crest of diamonds, in imitation of the Ottoman sultans; but at the present day, though they adorn with these insignia their portraits which are sus-

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pended in the churches, they are careful not to offend the scrupulous eyes of the Mussulmans.

The prince holds a court every day, where he sits for a short time surrounded by his officers, to administer justice and to decide controversies between his subjects. His commands are received with the most obsequious deference: he has full power of life and death over all, and inflicts whatever punishment he pleases on the guilty or the disobedient*. No complaints are received at the Ottoman porte against this authorized agent of government, even for the murder of an innocent person, whatever may have been his rank in society. The staff of authority is always placed beside the throne, and if the prince be of a choleric and impetuous disposition, it excites no surprise to see him yield to the emotions of anger, and distribute blows, with his own hand, on the heads or shoulders of his principal courtiers or ministers of state†. He

* Carra relates (p. 160), that a young nobleman was thrown into prison and loaded with irons, and very narrowly escaped the punishment of the bastinado, because his dress was made in a better taste than that of Gregory Gika, the prince of Moldavia.

† See Osservazioni, &c. p. 161.

I was at Yassy when punishment was inflicted on the *cassab*

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appoints to the administration of the royal domains according to his own pleasure, and disposes of the revenues of the lands and villages for his own purposes.

ceremony of inauguration,

The princes of Moldavia and Wallachia receive their investiture at the porte with the pomp and ceremonies usually observed on creating *pashas* and *vizirs*. The *kukka*, or military crest, is placed on their heads by the *muhzur aga*, an officer of the janizaries attached to the service of the grand vizir, and the robe of honour is put on them by the vizir himself. They are honoured with the standards and military music, and make

bashi, a *boyar* of the first class who had contracted to supply the city with animal food, against whom complaints had been carried before the prince, on account of the unwholesome quality of the provisions which he furnished. I was not indeed present at this exhibition of executive discipline, but the story was related in the company of persons who acknowledged the circumstances of it to be conformable to the usages of the court. The *boyar* was led into the great hall of the palace, and immediately threw himself at the feet of the prince, as he advanced towards him holding in his hand his sceptre or staff of authority. The prince, however, continued for some time to distribute his blows at random on the body of the culprit, retreating all the while in order to prevent the *boyar*, who kept crawling after him, from kissing his feet, and obtaining forgiveness before he had sufficiently expiated his offence. I went purposely to the shambles on the next day, and had ocular proof that his Highness's admonitions had produced a very salutary effect.

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their oaths of allegiance and fidelity in the presence of the sultan, to whom they are introduced with the ceremonies usual at a public audience.

From the seraglio they go in solemn and ostentatious procession to the patriarchal church, where prayers and ceremonies are performed, similar to those which were formerly observed at the inauguration of the Greek emperors. They are accompanied to their principalities by the Turkish officers appointed to install them. They make their public entry into the capital of their new sovereignty with a great display of magnificence, attended by the metropolitan and dignified ecclesiastics, the members of the divan, and the chief *boyars*. They assume, from the ceremonies which are practised, the title of "God's Anointed;" but this vain pageant, this painted bubble, raised by intrigue, by purchase, or by favour, dependent on a breath, removable at the will of a tyrant, and reducible to its original nothingness, is conducted to a mimic throne by the Turkish officer, who witnesses and ridicules the vanity of the slave whom his hand raises to authority and invests with dignity*.

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 189, note 33.

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court, The court of the prince is composed of persons in office and the provincial nobility, but more especially of the flock of harpies, who, forsaking the shores of the Bosphorus under the auspices of the new fangled sovereign, light on the tables, and sate their ravenous appetites with the substance, of wretches more hopeless of relief, and no less worn by hunger and misery, than Phineus himself. It is difficult to recognize the abject *rayah* in the Greek sillily basking in the blaze of Oriental pomp, and indulging in all the pride and insolence of authority and office. A splendid equipage, a train of servants, power to oppress, and the means of extortion develop all the vices of character which penury and servile dependence had before concealed. The Greek, who at Constantinople excites pity or contempt, raises disgust and abhorrence at Bukarest and Yassy*. It will naturally be imagined, that a court thus vitiated in its constituent parts cannot exhibit an assemblage of elegance and urbanity. Great indeed must be the apathy

* "Un Grec à cheval, les étriers hauts et les genoux en triangle, branlant la tête comme un magot de plâtre, s'imagine être le personnage le plus imposant et le plus respectable." Carra, p. 160.

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of the European spectator who can witness, without experiencing correspondent emotions, the ridiculous combination of all that is grotesque in ceremony with all that is vulgar in manners, of all that is fulsome in adulation with all that is contemptible in vanity and hateful in overbearing self-sufficiency*. Idleness and vanity have introduced and established the custom, in the capitals of each principality, of passing the morning in attendance at the prince's levee. The Greeks, and the *boyars*, whether in, or out of office, crowd the court, and fill up the vacancy of

* I cannot refrain from transcribing Carra's description of a ball at court, which, though apparently a caricature, I know to be perfectly accurate. "Ils se forment en rond, hommes et femmes, main à main, les pieds bien en-dedans, les longues culottes rouges des hommes pendantes sur le cou-de-pied et les talons, comme à des pigeons pattus; les dames couvertes des épaules jusqu' à la ceinture d'une pelisse dont le poil est en-dehors, tendant horriblement le ventre et rentrant les fesses; dans cette posture, vous voyez leur bras se remuer méthodiquement, comme si on les tiroit de derriere l'épaule par un fil d'archal; leurs pieds aller et venir en même tems de l'avant en arriere, de l'arriere en avant; le dos rond, le col roide, l'œil stupide, se tourner en cadence de droite à gauche, de gauche à droite; et avancer ainsi gauchement et nonchalammant, comme un mulet fatigué qui tourne en broyant la navette.—On imagine bien que la musique est aussi monotone et aussi misérable que la danse, ce sont les *cygunis* qui sont chargés de leur chatouiller les oreilles." (Hist. de la Mold. et de la Valach. p. 157.)

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their lives by conversation void of interest, and the awkward display of self-importance; and so contagious is the example that even the foreign merchants hurry from their avocations to present themselves at the palace of the prince, lest perhaps their servants should disdain to wear a livery which is not every day exposed in the avenues of the court.

officers of state,

The chief officer of the court is the *postelnik*, or marshal: he is usually a Greek, and is the chief medium of communication with the prince, as well on subjects of business as for the distribution of favours. He carries the mace before the prince in public ceremonies, and remains standing on the side of the throne. The *commisso*, or master of the horse, is also a Greek: his most important function is on the festival of Saint George, when, in imitation of the customs of the Ottoman court, the horses are led out to grass: the *commisso* closes the procession, mounted on the horse with which the prince on the day of his public audience had been honoured from the sultan's stables, and which, as well in the stables as in all public ceremonies, occupies, in right of its former master, the place of honour. The *grammaticos*, or Greek

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secretary, corresponds with the prince's residents at the porte on public business, and employs a great number of subaltern clerks in writing official and complimentary letters to the public agents in the principality and the neighbouring province. The *portar-bashi* officiates as master of the ceremonies to all Turks of distinction: he introduces them to the prince's audience, and carefully attends to the performance of all the honours and services which they are qualified to expect or require. These, as also the chief *boyars* and other great officers, wear their beards*.

* This enumeration of the officers of the prince's household will, I am persuaded, be thought sufficient; and it will not be required from one who was only a traveller through the country, to describe the high and sounding titles, and the important functions, of a numerous train of officers, who live in idleness and luxury, and are privileged to plunder the inhabitants, because they occasionally present to the prince his pipe, his coffee, or his wine, and purchase slippers and night-caps for his Highness and his serene family. "Nos souverains" (says Baür, p. 298) "en prenant le caffé, ou étant à leur toilette, n'ont plus guère besoin de grands seigneurs pour se faire allumer la pipe, ou se faire présenter les bottes."

"Quand le prince va à l'église ou à la promenade pour se faire voir à ses sujets, il est ordinairement suivi par tous les officiers dont je viens de parler. Après la procession des récolets du grand couvent de Milan, je ne connois rien de plus imposant ni de plus majestueux que cette marche du *beyledar*." Carra, p. 181.

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and body-guards.

The prince's body guard consists of *delhis*, and *tufenkgis* (musqueteers). These men are chiefly Albanians of the Greek communion, who, like their Mahometan countrymen, enlist as mercenaries in any service which offers a proportionate reward: they interfere in all the intestine dissensions of the empire, and they unite with the bands of robbers who infest the Turkish provinces. The Albanians, whose ancestors embraced the religion of Mahomet only to avoid the greater evil of a general proscription, are negligent in their observance of its practices, and unsteady in their belief. Professed Mahometans have even related to me the miracles of Christian saints in behalf of the independence of their country when it was invaded by the Turks, though Mahometan Albanians disdain to accept of service under a Christian. Those who are engaged in the service of the princes are fellows of determined courage, expert in the use of their fire-arms, and marked with scars gained in war or robbery: they seem indeed scarcely to make any distinction between these different professions, but, as both are dangerous, so they esteem them almost equally honourable. Some

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Christian Albanians, who served as an escort to a Greek prince with whom I once travelled through a part of Turkey, boasted of their achievements in plundering the caravans, and pointed out to me the spot where they had lain in ambuscade in one of the defiles of the Hœmus, *balkan*. Prince Ipsilanti, to reward the fidelity of a Sclavonian who had served him as a gardener, raised a company of Sclavonians, on his being appointed to the principality of Wallachia in 1802, and these men do duty in his palace at Bukarest, and officiate as his body-guard. Their insolence surpasses even that of the Turkish soldiery. I saw a party of these lawless ruffians returning in triumph from having avenged the honour of their corps by the infliction of a degrading punishment on a *boyar*. One of their company had pursued a girl into the house of her master, but had been forced to abandon the pursuit, and after some rough treatment, which his behaviour necessitated, had been thrust out of the house by the servants of the family. The crime was expiated, under the authorization of the prince himself, by the *boyar* publicly undergoing, in the court-yard of his own house and in the presence of the populace,

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the punishment of the bastinado on the soles of his feet.

Divan or council;

The president of the divan in each principality is the archbishop or metropolitan, who is considered as the head and oracle of the law, from the ascendancy of his sacred character over the minds of an uncultivated and superstitious people. The other members of the divan are the great public functionaries, whose titles of *deornik-mare*, *logotheti-mare*, *spathari* or *hetman*, *vestiar-mare*, &c. correspond with those of chief justice, chancellor, generalissimo, and treasurer. Many of these officers are men of the first class of nobility, and natives of the country, especially the treasurer, in whose situation an intimate acquaintance with the financial resources and the most efficacious methods of extortion is essentially necessary. The inferior members of the divan have no voice either in deliberating, or in deciding, on any measure: they merely affix their signatures to all public acts.

its departments.

The divan is the high court of judicature. It receives appeals from the inferior tribunals, and its sentence, if confirmed by the prince in the extraordinary sitting which is held twice in every week, is final. The criminal

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tribunal is composed of noblemen of the second class, who must have passed through the inferior offices of the divan. All criminal proceedings are examined every Saturday by the prince himself, who is attended on this occasion by the *armasc*, or governor of the public prisons. The usual punishments for slight offences are whipping, or public labour for a length of time proportioned to the nature of the crime: in instances of greater enormities the guilty person is punished with the loss of his ears, and is sentenced to work in the salt mines for the remainder of his life. The punishment of death, though not wholly abolished, is rarely inflicted; but when the circumstances of the case seem to necessitate so dreadful an example, the law has expressly ordained, that the governor of the public prisons, even after the sentence of death against the criminal has been delivered to him in writing, shall present himself before the prince three several times, and at each time shall repeat the solemn inquiry, whether the prince persists in his determination of shedding human blood. This wise and salutary regulation is ascribed to Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, and it is just, that his name descend to posterity

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among those of the benefactors of mankind: if his successors suffer it to fall into disuse or to degenerate into a form of office, they will acquire the hatred of all good men, and their memory will deserve to be held in execration*.

Boyars or nobility.

The *boyars*, who compose the divan and who arrogantly assume the rank and honours of hereditary grandees of the country, are in reality only rich proprietors and unfeeling tax-gatherers. The *boyars* of the most ancient families indeed assert, that they are the descendants of the Slavi, and are of a distinct race from the people, who have sprung from the alliances of the Romans with the original Dacians†; but the chief distinction among the nobles is their wealth and

* See Carra, p. 186. Osservazioni, &c. p. 148.

† Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, was sent on an embassy to Constantinople, in the year 968, to ask in marriage a daughter of the emperor Romanus for the son of Otho. The reigning emperor Nicephorus Phocas, in a conversation at table, refused the title of Romans to the subjects of Otho, whom he called Lombards and Barbarians. "We Lombards," replied the prelate, "can offer no greater insult to a man than to call him a Roman, a name which amongst us denotes whatever is base, cowardly, sordid, depraved, and knavish."—Such indeed would have been the general opinion of mankind, if the earlier history of the Romans had not outlived the republic.

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possessions. The great majority of the Moldavian and Wallachian nobility owe their creation to the sultan's *vaivodas*, for even these ephemeral beings, these fleeting shadows of royalty, are presumed to confer by their breath a permanency of dignity; and the man on whom they have once conferred any office, retains, after his removal, the title, the honours, and even the privileges of nobility*.

Powers of the divan.

The collective powers of the nobles, considered as a corporate body represented by the divan or great council, are specious and nugatory. The divan appears to intermeddle in the management of public affairs, but it possesses no real authority; for every thing is in fact conducted by the prince and his ministers. The divan is more especially authorized to superintend and control the receipts and expenditures of the public treasure; and the signatures of its members are necessary to give authenticity to the annual statement of the accounts: yet

* The widows of the *boyars* receive pensions from the public treasury according to the rank and quality of their deceased husbands. General Baür (chap. iii, p. 300) much approves of this institution, which he considers to be an encouragement to matrimony; but a wise government would perhaps better consult the interest of the community by checking the propagation of such a worthless nobility.

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their signatures are a mere formality, which in fact serves no other purpose than to prevent the *boyars* from making representations to the porte against the prince's government, as it virtually annuls any accusation on their part of his having harassed the country by oppressive taxes, or levied contributions without their concurrence.

Classes and privileges of the *boyars*.

The Greeks, who share among themselves the magistracies and other public employments of wealth and dignity, are all removed from office when their patron is deposed, and are obliged to quit the province, unless they can obtain the consent of his successor to their remaining behind, in which case they engage themselves by a solemn oath not to interfere with, nor obstruct, the operations of his government, nor to carry on plots nor intrigues against his person and authority. If they have married women of the country possessed of landed estates, and have continued peaceable and undisturbed through three successive reigns, they are reputed to have become naturalized, and rank among the *boyars* or nobility. The nobility, as well as the secular and monastic clergy, are exempt, except in the event of extraordinary demands, from all imposts, taxes, and contributions whatever.

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The *boyars*, in their individual capacity, tremble before the authority of the prince: they cross themselves when they enter the palace, in order to avert the dangers which beset them: on approaching the presence chamber they compose their features and attitude into the expression of servile respect: few among them are permitted to kiss the prince's hand, and many esteem it an honour to be allowed to touch his robe, or his feet.

Turkish magistrates.

There are no Turkish garrisons in the interior of either principality. They are, however, surrounded by fortresses, both on the Danube and the Dniester, which are commanded and garrisoned by Turks, who also exercise a civil jurisdiction over the surrounding territory to a certain extent*.

* *Chotin* is situated on the Dniester, at the foot of the mountain which stands on the right side of the river over against Kaminiec. It was formerly considered as the bulwark of the Turkish empire against the Russians and Poles, though De Tott, who examined its fortifications, was of opinion, that it could not hold out three days against a regular attack. The *pashalik* of Chotin is separated from Moldavia by the Pruth.—*Bender*, in Bessarabia, is famous in modern history for being the chief residence of Charles the Twelfth after his defeat at the battle of Pultowa. The Roman military road terminated at Bender, or Tigine. Since the Dniester has become the frontier of the Turkish and Russian empires, the Russians have built the town and fortress

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The jurisdiction of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia does not extend to the waters of the Danube, so that there is, of necessity, a Turkish magistrate constantly residing at Galatz, in order to determine disputes or litigations which may arise between the natives and the Mussulman traders, as well as to punish offences committed beyond the territories of the prince. It is not permitted to Mussulmans to make a fixed residence in either principality. Those whom commercial or state affairs occasionally bring into the

of Tyraspol on the side of the river opposite to Bender.—*Akkierman*, which is also called *Bielgorod*, is at the mouth of the Dniester. The Russians have built and fortified a town on the opposite shore, to which they have given the name of *Ovidiopol*, from a supposition (founded on a misnomer of the Moldavians, who call a lake near Akkierman *Lacul Ovidului*, and reasoning too futile to require confutation), that it was the place of the banishment and death of the Roman poet. *Kilia* is situated at about three leagues from the Black Sea, on the left bank of one of the five mouths of the Danube, which, as well as the right branch, is navigable for vessels of great burthen.—*Ismaël*, in Bessarabia, is situated on the north side of the Danube: it was here, that the merciless Suwarow massacred, without distinction, of age or sex, the garrison and the inhabitants, after carrying the place by storm in 1790.—*Ibraïl* is situated in Wallachia in the angle formed by the Siret and the Danube.—*Girgiova* is also in Wallachia, opposite to Ruschiuk. The Austrian troops, who had taken possession of this fortress during the last war, were surprised and driven from it by the Turks, who crossed the Danube, and attacked them in the night.

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country, are lodged in the *khans* or hotels expressly built for their accommodation in Yassy and Bukarest, which are maintained at the expense of government.

The *divan effendi*, or Turkish secretary, is the only Mussulman in the service of the prince. His business is to write official despatches to the Ottoman porte, to read and translate the *firmans* or orders of government, and to give judgment (jointly, if required, with a *cadi* despatched for the purpose from one of the neighbouring fortresses) in all disputes, in which the interests of Mussulmans are involved. The *divan effendi*, though ostensibly an agent of the prince, and receiving a large salary for his services, is however to be considered rather as an officer of the porte, who is authorized to inspect the conduct of the prince. His influence is consequently great, and his presence, by overawing the prince, assures the observance of that submission and respect for the turban, which is the first and most durable impression on the minds of the Greeks.

Officers civil and military.

The commander in chief of the national force is named *hetman* in Moldavia, and *spathari* in Wallachia. The militia in each

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principality is estimated at six thousand men, infantry and cavalry. Once a year each man receives a sufficient quantity of cloth for a vest or outward garment: their horses, arms, and accoutrements, are provided at their own expense. The advantage which they derive from their profession is an exemption from taxation; but nothing can be imagined more vile and contemptible than such a soldiery. They are commanded by captains appointed by the *hetman* or *spathari*, and are dispersed in the capitals and in different posts in both provinces*.

The reduction and the degradation of the militia were begun and completed by the Greek princes Nicholas and Constantine Mavrocordato. It is uncertain, whether, in this instance, they acted in compliance with the wishes and policy of the porte, or with

* "Le grand-hatman est le général de la cavalerie, laquelle peut bien se monter, avec les fifres, les tambours, les capitaines, les lieutenants, les officiers et bas-officiers, au nombre de vingt-sept à vingt-huit hommes habillés de bleu. L'aga, lieutenant général de police, a toujours avec lui un régiment de dix soldats habillés de verd, qui joints à la garde du prince, laquelle est de vingt hommes habillés de bleu, et dix-huit habillés de rouge, forment, y compris la cavalerie, un corps d'armée de soixante et seize hommes armés de mousquetons la plupart sans platine, et de couteaux la plupart sans manche." Carra, p. 180, 181.

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the view of appropriating the funds, levied for the purposes of national defence, to the support of their individual authority. The natural effect of the measure has been the absolute annihilation of the liberty and independence of the nation and its government. The country was delivered over, without fear of revolt or even of contradiction, to the extortions of the porte; and the Turkish inhabitants of the southern bank of the Danube committed depredations with impunity on the Wallachian territory, and exacted contributions of money from the *vaivodas* and their lieutenants.

As military governor of the capital the *hetman* is honoured with the *neubeth* or Moldavian music*. He holds a court, and has a prison in his own house; he is empowered to inflict corporal chastisement or pecuniary fine: his office is consequently lucrative, and his authority extensive, and being next in dignity to that of the prince, is usually conferred on a Greek, a relation or favourite of the reigning prince.

* The princes, as well as the Turkish *pashas*, have a band of Turkish musicians, who play military music every afternoon in the court-yard of the palace.

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The *logothetis* are the heads of the office of chancery: they keep the public registers, issue all diplomas, and have an immediate jurisdiction over the numerous convents and the recluse of both sexes. The chief *logotheti* is keeper of the great seal. The arms of Moldavia are the head of an ox. Those of Wallachia, a raven standing on a hill, holding a cross in its beak, between the sun and moon.

The *dvorniks*, or chief judges, are men versed in the practices of the divan and courts of law, and acquainted with the laws and usages of the country. They name the judges of the departments.

The *vestiari*, or grand treasurer, is removable from office as well as the other ministers of state; but the third treasurer, who principally conducts the business, and whose situation requires experience and local knowledge, is considered as permanently possessed of his office.

The *armasc*, or governor of the public prisons, exercises an immediate jurisdiction over the *chinganehs* or gypsies.

Laws and police.

The laws of Moldavia and Wallachia are professedly those of the code of Justinian,

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but they are neither studied, understood, nor followed. All suits are determined according to precedent and established usage, which are unwritten and arbitrary. The judges constantly refer to the practices of the court and uncertain traditions, so that all decisions are ultimately left at the mercy of the reigning prince. Hence confusion and disorder naturally arise; for as the sentence of a prince is not binding on his successor, contestations are interminable, and are continually reproduced. Suitors present their petitions to the prince in public or in private, according to the rank of the petitioner, the nature of the case, or the character of the prince. These memorials are read by the third chancellor, docketed, and referred to the appropriate tribunal, or to a prelate, if the case properly falls under the cognizance of an ecclesiastical judge. If the parties acquiesce in the sentence, it is definitive; otherwise appeal is left open to the divan, and thence again to the prince in council.

The *aga*, general of infantry, is also lieutenant of police: his inspection extends over the capital, its suburbs, and the neighbouring district. He is the intendant general of

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commerce, makes inquisition into the state of the public markets, examines the weights and measures, and the quality of the provisions exposed to sale. He punishes fraud in the dealers; and being always attended by his officers, inflicts the bastinado summarily, and in the public streets. He also exercises a severe and vexatious jurisdiction over the miserable women who purchase from him and his minions the privilege of living in the avowed profession of infamy.

The *ispravnics* are governors and civil magistrates, two of whom reside in the principal city of every district, their duty is also to levy the taxes and the contributions in kind which are furnished by both provinces for the use of the city of Constantinople*.

Revenue and taxes.

The chief sources of revenue are the capitation tax and the territorial impost, the salt-mines, the custom duties, and the taxes on pasturage†, bees, wine, and tobacco.

* "Ces ispraveniks, ainsi que tous les officiers publics et ceux de la cour, n'ont d'autres appointemens que la permission de piller et escroquer par-tout où ils peuvent. C'est ici où brille l'esprit des Grecs modernes." Carra, p. 183.

† "Les pâturages de la Valachie sont si bons et si célèbres, que les voisins même y font passer tous les ans plusieurs milliers de chevaux, et des troupeaux nombreux de bœufs et de moutons, qui s'y engraissent." Baür, chap. ii, p. 219.

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The capitation in Moldavia is collected every month, and in Wallachia every three months. The inhabitants are taxed, not individually, but by communities or villages: they fix among themselves the rate of each man's contribution, and pay it by the hands of the head-borough, *porcalabo*, a word which seems to be derived from the latin *parochus*, as it denotes the exercise of the same functions. When a community is taxed beyond its means, the inhabitants represent their grievances to the *ispravnic* of the district, and if their complaint be disregarded, they have no alternative but in abandoning their village, and dispersing themselves in different parts of the country.

The custom of farming the taxes is universal: the contractors advance a certain portion of the purchase money, and engage to complete their payments by instalments. As the defenceless peasantry are alone liable to taxation, the farmers, or contractors, are under no restrictions as to the means to be employed in collecting the taxes, but are empowered to exercise every expedient which fraud or violence may dictate, in order to

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extort the last mite from the oppressed subject*.

The chief expenses are the charges of the national government, the payment of the tribute, and the annual presents to the sultan and the ministers of the porte. The surplus which remains to the prince, is said to amount to a million of piastres; but it is liable to incalculable deductions for the expenses of maintaining his agents at the porte, and the secret services which the ambition of rival candidates makes essentially necessary.

* The produce of the farms of the different taxes in Wallachia (in the year 1782) and in Moldavia (in the year 1785) was as follows,

	Wallachia.	Moldavia.
Poll-tax on the peasantry - - Piastres	2,200,000	1,775,000
Tax on the *mazils* (small landholders, descendants of the *boyars*) and the merchants - - - - -	200,000	25,000
Poll-tax on 13,000 emigrant families from Transilvania, who pay less than the natives - - - - - -	140,000	
Salt mines - - - - - - - - - -	300,000	300,000
Custom duties - - - - - - - - -	200,000	200,000
Tax on the pasturage of sheep and cattle	280,000	170,000
Tax on bees - - - - - - - - -	70,000	120,000
Tax on wine - - - - - - - - -	60,000	200,000
Tax on tobacco, &c. - - - - - - -	60,000	50,000
	3,510,000	2,840,000

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The capital city of the principality of Wallachia is Bukarest, and that of Moldavia is Yassy. Bukarest is situated on the Dumbovitza, a small river, not navigable except for floats and rafts; and Yassy is situated on the Vaslui, which runs into the Pruth. Both cities resemble extensive villages, rather than the seats of government. In each the churches and convents are the most conspicuous feature; and the palaces of the *boyars*, surrounded with their spacious courts and gardens, form a painful contrast with the habitations of the people which indicate the utmost misery. The walls of the religious houses are covered with grotesque representations of saints and the histories of their miracles. The churches are heavy and inelegant buildings, bedecked, in their inside, with pictures, which, though perhaps they may inspire devotion, more certainly tend to vitiate the taste and judgment. In the cathedral church a throne is erected for the prince, and another, somewhat lower and less elegant, for the princess. The monasteries and convents, surrounded with solid and lofty walls, serve as retreats to the inhabitants in times of danger, and secure the more valuable property of the merchant from plunder and from

Capital cities.

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fire. The houses of the principal *boyars* are built for the most part of brick, plastered and white-washed. It was formerly the custom to cover the roofs of the houses with shingles, but the use of tiles is now become more general. The principal rooms are heated, as in Russia, Poland, and Germany, with stoves. The *bazar*, or general market, consists of several streets covered with a shed: the shops are numerous, and are generally well supplied with merchandize and wares of every kind. There are also shops in several of the principal streets, but the most numerous, and the most frequented, are the taverns and cellars, in which the common people are familiarized with the practice of every kind of debauchery, and with the inordinate use of wine and ardent spirits*.

On entering the cities of Bukarest and Yassy the traveller observes the singular and extravagant custom of flooring the streets with thick beams of the finest oak, which form a kind of wooden bridge. Nothing can more strikingly depict the improvidence of despotism! With the most constant care it

* The metropolitans, the bishops, and the abbots of the principal monasteries, as well as the *boyars* of the first class, have each a wine-cellar in the capital exempt from all taxes.

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would be difficult to remedy the effect of continual decay, which makes the passage of the streets inconvenient to those who go in carriages, and even dangerous to those who walk on foot. The waste of so much fine timber, which must be replaced throughout the whole city every five or six years, cannot be justified by any necessity. The inhabitants have indeed been taught to believe and to repeat, that it is impracticable to lay a solid pavement on a boggy soil; but it will hardly be admitted, that the peculiar nature of the soil opposes the same obstacles, which exist in no other part of Europe, in two cities so distant from each other as Bukarest and Yassy. It is only the short-sightedness of despotism, which impoverishes posterity to gratify the present selfishness, and whose works are adapted only to its own brevity of duration, which could reconcile itself to the practice of expedients so destructive of the wealth and prosperity of the country. Another consequence, which naturally results from this prodigal application of palliatives to an evil which might so easily be removed, is, that the air of both capitals is necessarily polluted with the vapours of the filth and stagnant waters which collect

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under the flooring of the streets. Hence both Bukarest and Yassy are rendered unwholesome, and the inhabitants are constantly afflicted with intermittent, bilious, and putrid fevers. None but the common people stir out on foot: an equipage is indeed an article of necessity, as much as of luxury; but the motion experienced in going in a carriage (wherever the streets, as it continually happens, are out of repair) requires the passenger to be constantly on his guard; for the horses occasionally plunge as deep as their chests into a bog of filthy water, in almost every street of the city, except that which leads to the prince's palace; and it is as much with a view to prevent inconvenience or danger from this circumstance as from etiquette, that men of a certain rank, and the foreign consuls, are preceded by servants, carrying before their carriages a kind of torch, *maschallah*, peculiar to those countries, which burns several hours in the hardest shower of rain without being extinguished.

Yassy is surrounded by hills of the greatest beauty, which afford the finest situations for country seats, but which, in most instances, are occupied by monasteries.

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In matters of religion the government of both principalities, in imitation of, or in obedience to, the Turkish maxims, exercises toleration. The catholics are numerous, and are distinguished from the other inhabitants by the greater regularity of their conduct. The catholics were formerly under the protection of the kings of Poland, but as it was stipulated in the treaty of Yassy, that foreigners should not possess landed property, their religion was placed under the common protection of the national government. All other sects and religions are equally tolerated: the Lutherans have a church in Bukarest, and the Jews a great number of synagogues in both provinces.

Public establishments.

In Yassy, as well as in Bukarest, there are physicians who are maintained at the expense of the public, to whom every inhabitant is authorized to apply for advice or assistance: there are also public hospitals, but into these the lowest state of misery can scarcely induce the diseased to solicit an admission:—such institutions cannot indeed be expected to produce beneficial effects in a state of society which is so depraved.

Education is in the hands of the priests, but the whole of their knowledge is comprised in

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absurd and superstitious opinions, and the morality which they inculcate is fitted rather to encourage slavery than to improve the condition of mankind.

The princes are compelled, for the convenience of the officers and messengers of the Turkish government, to keep up a numerous establishment of post horses. The post houses in both principalities are usually at the distance of four hours, or leagues, from each other. The mode of travelling post is in a light cart drawn by four horses: it is indeed expeditious, but fatiguing and unpleasant, as the traveller is inevitably bespattered with mud, or covered with dust; and the post carriages, which are slightly constructed, and only held together with wooden pegs, continually break down, and are easily overturned. The expense of travelling post is but ten aspers an hour for each horse, or about two shillings of our money for a stage of twelve miles with four horses. The roads, in certain seasons of the year, are so bad that I entered Bukarest with thirteen horses harnessed to the same carriage which, through the greatest part of Germany, had required only two. The cabinet couriers, whom the princes despatch to Constantinople, are called

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calarasch: others, who are employed only in the principalities, are called *lipcan*.

The education of the *boyars* is little superior in point of real utility to that of the common people. The children are instructed by priests in the houses of their parents, and are surrounded by *chinganehs*, who corrupt them by abject servility and a base compliance with all their caprices. Formed by such tutors, they pass into a world of hypocrisy and vice, without one just principle to regulate their conduct, without one generous purpose, or one honourable sentiment. They adopt indiscriminately the vices, without inheriting the vivacity, of the Greeks, or veiling them with that delicacy which the Greeks have not wholly relinquished. They confound whatever is most degrading in luxury with the fair fruit of civilization, and in their rude adoption of European manners, they plunge into promiscuous debauchery, and indulge to excess in an unprincipled passion of gaming *. Like the Poles and Hungarians

Manners of the Greeks and *boyars*.

* "Les grands, les courtisans et les gens riches sont lâches et rampans devant leurs supérieurs, insupportablement fiers avec leurs inférieurs: l'argent leur fait tout faire; ils sont intriguans, cabaleurs, sang-sues impitoyables du peuple, oppresseurs du foible, séveres envers leurs sujets, et tyrans dans leurs maisons." Baür, chap. ii, p. 234. "Ce qu'il y a de singulier chez les

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the *boyars* inherit a taste for magnificent dresses and splendid equipages: they love balls and public entertainments, but their assemblies are rude and tumultuous. Their tables are open to every person of their acquaintance, but are inelegantly served. In the cities they are forbidden to form connexions of intimacy, or even to keep up intercourse, with strangers; but I have occasionally lodged for a night in their country seats, and was always received and treated by them with a plain but decent hospitality.

The Greeks adopt a more than Asiatic luxury: they sleep after dinner on their sophas, whilst a female servant fans away the flies and refreshes the air which they breathe: they exact from their attendants the respect and homage which they have seen paid to the Turkish grandees; but feeling within themselves no consciousness of personal worth or importance, they cannot command with Turkish dignity, and the petulance of vanity betrays itself in harsh expressions, and insulting behaviour, to their inferiors.

despotes de Moldavie et de Valachie, c'est que toutes leurs richesses, argent, bijoux, hardes et ameublemens sont toujours dans des malles ou coffres de voyage, comme s'ils devoient partir à chaque instant." Carra, p. 124.

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On the death or deposition of a prince the divan assembles, and immediately assumes the administration of public affairs. All the creatures or dependents of the prince are removed from office, and other persons are appointed, who are continued in authority until the arrival of his successor. The *caimacam*, or lieutenant of the newly created prince announces the nomination of his master, but does not interfere in the affairs of government, further than in superintending the collection of the prince's revenues. The fallen sovereign is immediately forsaken by his courtiers, is always treated with neglect, and sometimes with insult and abuse. He returns privately, and without pomp, to Constantinople, where he retires to his seat in the Fanal or on the shores of the Bosphorus. With the usual modesty of *rayahs* the princes resume their former habits of submission, and the exterior of humility. They are followed only by a single servant; but at home they are surrounded by a princely and titled household: they allot to particular officers distinct portions of service, and pass the day in planning new schemes of ambition, or in receiving the secret homage of their clients and vassals. Deposed princes.

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Foreign relations.

By virtue of a clause in the sixteenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded at Kainargik on the twenty-first of July 1774, the court of Russia obtained a right of interference in the internal administration of government in both principalities, and the Russian ambassadors at the porte were authorized to superintend, and to control by their representations, even the arrangements of the Turkish cabinet respecting Moldavia and Wallachia. The same treaty granted to Russia, in the same manner as to other favoured nations, the privilege of appointing consuls or commercial agents in any port or city throughout the sultan's dominions. The Ottoman porte resisted, however, for a long time, the assumption, that this privilege extended to the inland provinces situated beyond the Danube. After long discussions the two imperial courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg finally established their pretensions, and in the year 1781 obtained from the porte a formal acknowledgment of their right to appoint resident ministers in the capitals of Moldavia and Wallachia. The princes themselves had secretly fomented the opposition made by the porte, and had thrown obstacles in the way of the negociation, from an

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apprehension, that they themselves would be restricted in the exercise of their prerogative over their subjects by their conduct being thus submitted to the inspection and censure of foreigners. When the concession could, however, be no longer withheld, they endeavoured to console themselves for the diminution of authority by the incense which was thus offered to their vanity, in assimilating them, by these new and extraordinary appointments, to the sovereigns of the independent states of Europe. They consequently received the imperial consuls with all the forms and ceremonies usually observed by the Ottomans at the public audience of foreign ambassadors *.

* Germany and Russia were the only countries that availed themselves of this privilege (which is common to all the European powers who have treaties with the Ottoman porte), until the French national convention appointed as their representative a Greek of the name of Stamati, who had previously figured at the bar of the assembly, in the procession of the deputies of the human race which was headed by Anacharsis Cloots. Citizen Stamati was however personally objectionable, and the Ottoman ministers refused to ratify the privileges conferred on an enfranchized *rayah*. A native Frenchman was therefore named consul at Bukarest in 1795, and the appointment has been regularly continued. The English ambassador at Constantinople also names an agent for the express purpose of forwarding the overland despatches of the East India company.

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The house of Austria, the chief object of whose government is the welfare and prosperity of its subjects, prescribed to its agents, as their principal duty, the care of improving and extending the national commerce. Various grants and privileges were obtained from the porte, and equitable regulations were established to protect the persons and property of the Austrian subjects, both merchants and graziers, in each principality.

The commerce of Russia with the states of Turkey, though by no means inconsiderable, was, however, an object of inferior importance to a government occupied in schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. It has been indeed unequivocally expressed, on several occasions, that the possession of both provinces entered into the views of the court of St. Petersburg. On the breaking out of the war between Russia and the porte in the year 1711, Demetrius Cantemir was named to the principality of Moldavia, from the reliance of the Turkish cabinet on his military talents and his tried fidelity. Cantemir, however, had scarcely taken possession of his government when he sent a trusty messenger to the czar with an offer of himself and his principality, "esteeming it better

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to suffer with Christ, than to wait for the deceitful treasures of Egypt." Such is the specious colouring with which the historian endeavours to gloss over his own rebellion, but it may perhaps be doubted whether he was not actuated as much by ambitious impulse as by christian zeal; for he had carefully stipulated in his treaty with the czar, that the sovereignty of Moldavia, which was to be restored to its antient extent, should be made hereditary in his family, under the auspices of the Russian monarchs. His Christian subjects listened no less than their prince to the suggestions of prudence, and preferred the dominion of the porte to that of the Russians, whose inhumanity they had frequently experienced. The ill success of the war thwarted the ambitious views of the Russian monarch, and Cantemir himself was saved from the resentment of the Turks only by the honourable pertinacity of Peter, who refused to surrender him, and by the artifice of the czarina, who concealed him in her own carriage and asserted, that he had quitted the camp *.

* See Voltaire, hist. de Charles XII, liv. 5. Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 452. Life of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia.

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In the year 1770, when Moldavia was occupied by the Russian troops under Field Marshal Count Romanzoff, her imperial Majesty, by her public letters which were read six times in all the churches, declared, that the principality should remain eternally under her protection, and be no more subjected to the Turkish yoke*. Circumstances, however, compelled her to desist from her pretensions, and Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia were restored to the Ottoman porte by the treaty of Kainargik. Some vague clauses were however inserted in order to guaranty the ancient privileges of the inhabitants, and to authorize the mediation of the Russian government in their behalf. These clauses were ratified, the rights and duties of the subjects were more fully explained, and the guarantee of Russia acknowledged, by a *khatt'y sherif*, or proclamation signed by the sultan, dated in the year 1784. The treaty of Yassy stipulated a further abridgement of the sovereignty of the porte over the princes and the tributary inhabitants; but the Turks, who submitted with reluc-

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 198, note.

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tance to the humiliation, have eluded a strict compliance with their engagements, and by their continual infractions of the treaty have furnished the Russians with endless subjects of complaint and remonstrance. The last act of Russia's interference was in the year 1802, when Prince Ipsilanti was promoted to the government of Wallachia, and Prince Murusi to that of Moldavia, with the express condition, which was obtained through the negociations of the Russian minister at the porte, that neither of them should be removed from office, if they were not proved guilty of an offence which the Russian minister should deem sufficient to justify their deposition. It must however be confessed, that such a state of things has by no means contributed to the advantage either of the governors or the people. The porte is insulted by the ostensible limitations of its sovereign authority, but is not restrained in the actual oppression of the inhabitants. It is vain indeed to expect, that the interference of a foreign power between a prince and his subjects can ever be productive of beneficial effects: but it may be questioned, whether it ever entered into the contemplation of the

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Russian cabinet to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, since no instance can be produced of any exertion of influence on the part of the Russian consuls to alleviate the sufferings of the people, to check and restrain the tyranny of the Greeks, or to promote any plan for the permanent good of the miserable inhabitants.

The present eventful crisis involves the fate of the world. On the decision of the question which is now at issue respecting Moldavia and Wallachia depends the existence of the Ottoman empire. These provinces cannot long remain under a divided sovereignty, nor can they raise themselves to independency on the powerful empires which surround them on every side. If they be restored to the Ottoman porte, they must still owe their preservation to foreign influence, on account of the weakness of the Turkish government. Under the dominion of Austria they would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the further progress of Russia. If they remain annexed to the Russian empire, the Danube will roll in vain between the Turks and their inveterate enemies: the

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dissolution of the Ottoman power will inevitably follow; an event which cannot be contemplated in its consequences without the most serious apprehensions.

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APPENDIX.

Physical history of Byzas.—Chalcedon.—Situation, soil, and climate of Byzantium.—Extent of the ancient city.—Situation of its ports.—The haven of Constantinople.—Advantageous position of the Eastern metropolis.—The Bosphorus.—Ancient extent of the Euxine sea.—The Propontis.—The Hellespont.—The island Leuce.—Cursus Achillis.—Establishments of the ancient Greeks on the northern shores of the Euxine sea.

Physical history of Byzas.

THE foundations of the city of Byzantium, according to Diodorus Siculus, were laid in the time of the Argonauts by Byzas, who then reigned in the neighbouring country. Eustathius says, that Byzas arrived in Thrace before the expedition of the Argonauts, and settled there with a colony from Megara. Some ancient medals indeed bear the name and head of Byzas, with the prow of a ship on the reverse, but Velleius Paterculus ascribes the founding of Byzantium to the Mi-

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lesians, and Ammianus Marcellinus to the inhabitants of Attica.

As these accounts of the origin of the city are marked with all the inaccuracy of remote tradition, I am tempted to appeal from them to the unerring history of nature.

The inner extremity of the haven of Constantinople is distinguished by the confluence of two little streams, which flow from the north-west and the north. In the present age they take their names from the adjoining villages of Ali Bey keui, and Kiahat khana; but they were anciently called Cydaris and Barbyses, and were revered by the Byzantines as the source of the prosperity, and even of the existence, of their city.

The pagan mythology, where its language can be clearly understood, seems to have been calculated to explain the operations of nature, and to describe the varied phenomena of the heavens and the earth. The first language in use among men was picturesque and metaphorical: every object of nature was endued with individual animation, and the motions of matter were represented as the offspring of passions, similar to those which agitate the human breast. They personified the earth under the name of Iö, and

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the form of a cow, which was confided to the guardianship of the never-slumbering Argus, the emblem of the starry heaven. Ceroëssa, the daughter of Jupiter and Iö, was nursed by Semystra the neighbour of Bosphorus, in honour of whom the Byzantines erected an altar at the foot of the promontory under which the waters of the Cydaris and Barbyses form one stream. This spot had been the birth-place of the horned Ceroëssa, whose amours with Neptune produced Byzas, the founder of Byzantium. In this beautiful allegory they commemorated the irruption of the Euxine sea into the countries which now form the Propontis and the Egean, and the origin of their celebrated harbour, the Chrysoceras, or golden horn, by the union of fresh and salt water in the valley which had been excavated in the lapse of ages, by the silent but unceasing agency of these humble rivulets*.

The founders of Chalcedon, a city of Asia Minor fronting Constantinople on the east, are censured by the most sacred and respectable authority of ancient times, and by the Chalcedon.

* See Petrus Gyllius de Bosporo Thracio, l. ii, c. iii, p. 103—105. 12mo. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Elzevirios 1632.

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concurring sentence of modern writers, for having overlooked the site of Byzantium, while in search of a settlement, and having occupied a less advantageous situation on the shore of Asia. When the Megareans consulted the Pythian oracle about building a town on the coasts of the Propontis, they were directed to establish it *over against the city of the blind*; and "never was a wiser sentence uttered," says Tournefort, in confirmation of the opinion of Megabyzus general of Darius's troops, of Polybius, of Tacitus, and of Pliny, for the Chalcedonians had disregarded the opposite haven, the finest and most commodious in the world, and had chosen a point of land projecting to the south, although it did not possess even the advantage of a sea-port*.

The feeling of veneration for the sacred oracles, or an unwillingness to contradict the Pythian Apollo, induces me, however, to suspect, that the rich and haughty merchants of Byzantium either usurped the

* See Tournefort, v. ii, lett. viii, p. 361. Tacit. annal. l. xii. Polyb. hist. l. iv. Strabo. geogr. l. vii. Plin. nat. hist. l. v, c. xxxii. Gyllius de Bosp. Thrac. l. iii, c. x, p. 357; de topograp. Constant. l. i, c. i, ap. Banduri. Imp. Orient. t. i, p. 349.

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sanction of a deity as a cover for their insolence, or that they insulted their neighbours by an arbitrary interpretation of the oracular enigma: For it is impiety to believe, that the disapprobation of heaven was expressed against the humble, but rational, choice of the Chalcedonians, who did not perhaps overlook the advantages of the haven of Byzantium, but preferred the permanent advantages of agriculture before the transitory prosperity of commerce.

The promontory of Thrace, which stretches into the Propontis and is placed between two seas, was unquestionably the most eligible situation in Europe for founding a city which might aspire to universal dominion. If, however, a small colony of outcast Megareans could possibly have been influenced in their choice of a settlement by such considerations, their vanity must have been despised, rather than encouraged, by Apollo. The prudent deity, who, from a love of consistency, condescended to admonish the shepherd to adapt his strains to the humbleness of his station, would have checked such turgid and extravagant ambition. But neither the Megareans, nor even Apollo, whose prescience was necessarily limited by the

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duration of polytheism, could possibly conjecture, that, in after ages, a Christian emperor would be led, by superior inspiration, to confirm the censure which is implied in the oracle*.

The town of Chalcedon is most agreeably situated. Its territory is extensive, and, being well-watered by the rivulet which anciently gave its name to the city, is exceedingly fertile. Its distance from Constanti-

* It is somewhat extraordinary, that the local advantages of Byzantium were not obvious either to the founders of the old, or the modern, city. Constantine the Great has been careful to instruct posterity, in one of his laws, that he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople in obedience to the commands of God. (See Gibbon, v. iii, p. 14.) The error of the Byzantines, who purposed to build their city *at the inner extremity of the harbour* (See Gyllius, de Bosp. Thrac. l. ii, c. iii, p. 104), and that of Constantine, who fixed upon the plain which lies between the Sigean, and the Rhœtean promontories, for the seat of his new metropolis (See Gyllius, de Bosp. Thrac. l. i, p. 12. Gibbon, v. iii, p. 11, note 21), both of which were prevented *only* by miracles, justify, or excuse, the blindness of the Chalcedonians.

Doctor Gillies is so far from considering the advantages of the situation of Byzantium to be evident, at least to Barbarian observers, that he says (History of ancient Greece, c. 12, p. 55), "It is not *probable*, that Xerxes, or his ministers, *perceived* the peculiar security of Byzantium, situated between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, two straits, which it might occasionally shut to an hostile navy, or open to the fleets of commerce."

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riople is inconsiderable, but, being screened by its position from the nipping winds which rush from the north through the straits of the Bosphorus, it enjoys a more genial climate. In the spring, vegetation seems several weeks more advanced on the Asiatic, than on the European, side of the Bosphorus, and the productions of the soil are of more vigorous and larger growth. The coast abounds with fish, and the harbours which were constructed by the ancient inhabitants on both sides of the isthmus, the jetties of which are still to be distinguished *, afforded sufficient protection to such vessels as were required for the fisheries, or for a contracted commerce, from the southern storms. The gallies or larger vessels, which were afterwards constructed from vanity or necessity, were hauled up on the beach and secured under porticoes during the winter months.

* "Portuum aliquot ruinæ cernuntur."—"Nunc portus obrutus, et moles quotidie exportantur: atque ubi olim portus magnis navibus patebat, nunc alicubi non patet scaphis, ob syrtes et brevia."—"Chalcedonem habuisse portum catena clausum, capientem amplius sexaginta naves, patet ex Appiano: is enim ait, classem Mithridatis in portum Chalcedoniorum vi irrupisse, catenasque, quibus ostium portus claudebatur, rupisse, et quatuor naves exussisse; sexagintaque ex portu captas secum abduxisse." Gyllius de Bosp. Thrac. l. iii, c. x, p. 361, 364.

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They might, however, ride at anchor with perfect safety in their own roads during the summer season, when the north winds generally prevail, or find shelter in the friendly port of Chrysopolis, when strong blasts occasionally issue from the south*.

Situation, soil, and climate of Byzantium.

The cities in the vicinity of Chalcedon were flourishing and hospitable, and the adjacent territory was inhabited by a civilized people. The Byzantines, on the contrary, were exposed to the incursions of the Thracian barbarians: and the city, which was impregnable to their rude attacks, served as a place of refuge from their desolating hostilities†. The neighbouring country is rugged and mountainous, the soil is ungrateful, and the weather in the winter season, which is unusually long for such a southern latitude, partakes of the asperity of the interior climate of Thrace‡. No wood grows in the immediate neighbourhood of Byzantium; but the want of fresh water is a far greater in-

* Tournefort (lett viii, p. 365) says, that the port of Scutari served as a retreat to the gallies of Chalcedon.

† See Gyllius de topograp. Constant. l. i, c. i, p. 349.

‡ The Thracian shore of the Bosphorus does not produce the olive. Doctor Gillies is incorrect when he says, that "its climate vies with the delicious softness of the Asiatic plains."

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convenience*. The harbour alone constituted its opulence, and occasioned its envied superiority; but if we may credit the assertion, that ancient Byzantium was contained within the circuit of the modern Seraglio, even the advantages of the harbour must have been so restricted as, in a great degree, to become nugatory to the Byzantines†.

* I have not forgotten the *ayiasma*, or holy well, near the Seraglio point. (See Tournefort, lett. v.) But it is too inconsiderable to form an exception to the assertion in the text. This scarcity of fresh water within the territory of Byzantium, was probably the cause that the first colonists projected to found their settlement in the neighbourhood of the streams at the head of the harbour. Lord Sandwich mentions (Travels, p. 246), that, in the insurrection at Constantinople in the year 1730, Sultan Ahmed collected a number of troops within the walls of the Seraglio, and attempted to defend it against the rebels, but they compelled him to abandon the design *by cutting off the water*. I know not what means were employed by the Byzantines, during the three years siege of their city by the emperor Severus (See Gibbon, v. i, p. 193), to obtain a constant supply of this indispensable article.

† De Tott even asserts (Memoirs, v. i), that *the walls of the ancient Byzantium serve at present for the boundaries to the seraglio of the grand signor*, and as he piques himself on not having perused the writings of preceding travellers, he probably believed it to be so. But though we may suppose the name of Byzantium to have reached him, unaccompanied by the information of its having been one of the best fortified cities of ancient times (see Pausanias, l. iv, c. 31), yet surely the Baron de

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Extent of the ancient city.

Barbié du Bocage, in the critical analysis of the maps and plans illustrative of Barthelemi's travels of the younger Anacharsis, delivers it as his opinion, that the present extent of the Seraglio corresponds with that of the ancient city of Byzantium, except that the spot on which the mosque of Sancta Sophia now stands was comprehended in it. His reasons for assigning this boundary to the city are no doubt well founded, but even this, if confined to the higher and inland part of the hill, which is the situation of Sancta Sophia, as it could afford no additional protection to the harbour, by no means removes the difficulty. It appears certain, that Byzantium did not exceed the extent of the first hill, since, during the siege of it by Constantine the Great, that emperor pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the second hill, where he afterwards erected his forum. "But it may be supposed," says Gibbon, "that the Byzantines were tempted by the conveniency of the harbour to extend their habitations on

Tott could have needed no inscription to enable him to discriminate between the masonry of antiquity (see Gyllius, de topograp. Constant. l. i, c. i, p. 350), and the unskilfulness of Turkish construction.

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that side beyond the modern limits of the Seraglio*." I cannot pretend to determine how far this could be done, so as to preserve its character of the best fortified city of ancient times, while a considerable district, in which the warehouses of the merchants were situated, was left at the mercy of an enemy, who might possess himself of the unguarded position of the second hill. It is inconsistent with the customs of antiquity to suppose, that this extension should have consisted only of suburbs, which, from being without walls, were exposed to the attacks of the Thracians, and could not consequently ensure the command of the harbour. A great extension cannot, however, be allowed to them on any hypothesis, as they could not have been carried with safety, in a narrow line along the shore, further than across the bottom of the bay which lies between the first and the second hill.

Situation of its ports.

Barbié du Bocage places the three ports of Byzantium on the north side of the city, about the spot where the *yaly kęosk* of the grand signor now stands, for, on the side of the Propontis, there is no shelter for large

* Roman hist. v. iii, p. 16.

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vessels, and none even for boats, much below the utmost extent of Byzantium. But the nature of the shore invalidates the supposition of ports in such a situation, and barely admits the possibility of an artificial basin, or quai, for the landing of merchandize*. On the side of the harbour, Byzantium does not appear to have extended more than four hundred fathoms from the extreme promontory. The waves of the Thracian Bosphorus, which run impetuously from the north-east, dash with violence against this obtuse point of the triangle; and the waters, being divided by the interposition of the promontory, recoil towards the west, in such a mighty volume as to sweep the harbour through its whole extent. It is evident therefore, that a current, which becomes so violent almost in the point where it first meets resistance, and where Nature has made no indentations in a steep and rocky shore, could not have afforded a safe retreat for

* Gyllius (de Bosporo Thracio, l. ii, c. 2, p. 85) describes from Dionysius the situation of the three ports of Byzantium. "At ex maris parte erat navigatio in sinum Ceras leniter fluens, primam promontorii Bosporii conversionem, circumflexionem, quæ excipiebat tres portus, quorum medius satis profundus à cæteris ventis tegebatur, ab Africo tutus omnino non erat: deinde turris bene magna rotunda continenti jungebat urbis mœnia."

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shipping. But, even if it were possible for vessels to lie there without danger, another considerable inconvenience must have been felt, as they could not get under way from such a situation with the wind at north-east or at north. If we suppose the merchant ships of Byzantium to have been protected by walls and fortifications, we must extend the line of the city beyond the situation of the present custom-house, which is at the foot of the second hill. If we limit the ancient city to the boundary of the modern Seraglio, the Byzantines themselves would justly have incurred the reproach of blindness, as the harbour, to which alone they were indebted for their superiority, would have been left defenceless; whereas, by fixing their settlement on the northern side of the haven, the site of the modern Galata, they might have enjoyed a situation equally safe and accessible to commerce, and have completely sheltered their trade and shipping, both from the rapacity of enemies, and from the violence of tempests. There is, however, reason to believe, that the commodious and commanding situation of Galata was not neglected by the Byzantines. It appears to have been a fortified suburb, if

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we are to trust the quotation from Dion Cassius, by Xiphilin, who, in describing the siege of Byzantium by Severus, makes mention of the chain by which the harbour was barricadoed, and which reached from the modern Seraglio to Galata, where the Byzantines must consequently have had fortifications and a garrison*. When Constantine transferred the Imperial residence from Italy to the East, the plan which he traced out for his new metropolis extended the protection of the walls of Byzantium from the Cape of the Bosphorus to the inner extremity of the harbour, almost as far as the confluence of the small streams, which, by tempering the salt waters of the Black Sea, render them less destructive of shipping, while they assist in cleansing the harbour, and filling it with fish.

* See Tournefort, lett. v. "Illius (*sinus*) similiter latitudo varia est. In faucibus plus minus sex stadiis patet: deinde paulatim stringitur, usque ad mediam Galatam, ubi in stadia paulo plus tria coarctatur: quæ arctiori catena claudi possint, quam latior ejus alveus inter Acropolim et Galatam situs, contra hostium naves *olim constringi catenis solitus*. Neque modo tormentis bellicis saxa emittentibus *ex utroque littore*, sed etiam machinis ignem liquidum profundentibus, hostiles naves ab his aditu arceri, atque etiam exuri igne speculari posse, demonstravit Proclus." Gyllius de Bosporo Thracio, l. i, c. v, p. 74.

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The haven is a basin, curving towards the west and north-west, of seven or eight miles in circuit*. It was formerly compared by Strabo to a stag's horn, but at present, in consequence of many of the inlets being designedly filled up, or gradually encumbered with the rubbish of the city, it may perhaps, on a general view, be better compared to the horn of an ox†: The bendings of the shore, from the position of the surrounding mountains, form bays or recesses, eight of which are described by Gyllius, and may still be distinguished‡. The entrance of the harbour opens to the east and faces Scutari: it is sheltered from all winds, and is ruffled

The haven of Constantinople.

* Olivier (p. 41) calculates the line from the Seraglio point to the mosque of Ayub to be 3000 toises (of which 2500 are equal to a league), the breadth of the harbour, at the entrance, opposite to Tophana, to be 500 toises, and 300 toises in the narrowest part.

† It appears from Dionysius and from Zosimus, as quoted by Gyllius (de topograp. Constant. l. iii, c. 9, in Imp. Orient. t. i, p. 406, 407), that the increase of population compelled the inhabitants of Constantinople to build without the walls of the city, on the shore of the harbour, and to encroach on the sea by driving piles as a foundation for their houses; but the small gulfs, the ancient antlers of the stags-horn, are the only parts of the shore which have undergone any sensible alteration from this cause.

‡ See Gyllius, de Bosporo Thracio, l. i, c. v, p. 71.

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only by a tempest from the south-east. In most places, its shores are so steep as to admit the largest merchant ships to discharge their cargoes on the beach.—Even vessels of war, of the greatest draught of water, may lie close to the shore, or find anchorage in any part of the harbour.

Advantageous position of the Eastern metropolis.

While the city of Byzantium continued an independent republic, it derived from its situation the command of the sea. When the Roman emperors made it the seat of government, it might reflect with conscious pride on having attained the rank for which Nature had adapted it. Sovereign of two seas and two continents, it restrained the Barbarians of the north by its impenetrable barrier, and invited commerce, by its wonderful facilities, from every region of the known world.

The Bosphorus.

If Byzantium acknowledged, that its comparative superiority over the neighbouring cities was owing to the excellence of its harbour, with equal justice may Constantinople attribute its supremacy over the surrounding countries to the advantages of its position. The Bosphorus may be denominated, in strict propriety, the creative and tutelar genius of the Imperial city. The praises which

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are bestowed on Constantinople, are ultimately and immediately referable to the Bosphorus alone*. Majestic in its course, it resembles a river winding through an extensive garden, rather than a sea which divides Europe from Asia. It is difficult even to imagine a more beautiful prospect than that of the valley through which it flows, which is bounded on either side by gently swelling hills, adorned with luxuriant and variegated verdure, or by mountains broken into romantic precipices and opening into vallies, fertile and watered with fountains and rivulets†. Its sinuosities, which are deep even to the edge of the shore, afford a refuge to mariners, and a retreat to tribes of fishes, which, fattened during the winter in the tempered waters of the Euxine, swarm in its

* "Sed quid plura de Bosporo? sine quo Byzantium nunquam extitisset, aut vulgaris urbs remansisset: cujus conditor et genius Agathodæmon Bosporus jure dici potest et debet; sine quo non modo vivere cum dignitate, sed ne nasci quidem potuisset. Et ne habeam inculcare, quæ postea dicam de Byzantio, id fere omne Bosporo acceptum referre oportet, quod laudis tribui potest Byzantio." Gyllius, de Bosporo Thracio, l. i, p. 24.

† "O nympharum domos! o sedes Musarum! o loca literatis apta secessibus!" Busbeq. epist. i, p. 43.

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stream, whence they proceed to distribute plenty round the Mediterranean.

The length of the Bosphorus, from the promontory of Byzantium to the Cyanean rocks, is about twenty miles: its extreme breadth does not exceed two miles, and in most places, during the stillness of the night, the noises of animals may be heard, and even the articulations of the human voice be distinguished. In its whole extent it may be considered as a spacious haven, for, from its first entrance, it affords anchorage to the largest vessels, and security to the frailest bark. Its navigation is free from hidden danger. Its current is rapid and invariable in its course, except that it is superficially affected by the long continuance of a wind from the south*. The eddies

* "Like to the Pontic sea,
"Whose icy current and compulsive course
"Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
"To the Propontic, and the Hellespont."
(Othello, act 3, scene 3.)

It is curious to observe, that this simile is not in the first edition (see Mr. Pope's notes), which, as appears by the entries of the stationers' company (vol. D, p. 21) was registered October 6, 1621, though it was not printed till the following year. (See Mr. Malone's Chronology.) Mr. Steevens says,

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remount from cape to cape almost along the whole line of the shore: during the calm of a summer evening they assist the small trading vessels in reaching the entrance of the Euxine. The winds have a periodical constancy from the beginning of summer to the equinox of autumn: they blow, through the day, from the north and north-east, and temper the heat of the sun and the climate by their delicious freshness*.

The elegant devotion of antiquity had consecrated both the shores of the Bosphorus

that Shakspere took the earliest opportunity of displaying his knowledge of these particulars, which he might have acquired from Holland's translation of Pliny's Nat. Hist. I, however, suspect, that this knowledge is combined, in the foregoing passage, with information of an event which did not take place till after the death of Shakspere. Cantemir (p. 241) says, that, in the year 1621, "the frost was so great that the inhabitants of Constantinople safely went to and from Scutari on foot." I can scarcely reconcile myself to the belief of this fact, though some such extraordinary instance of the severity of the climate of Constantinople, can alone justify the application of the epithet *icy* to the current of the Bosphorus.

* It is owing to this disadvantage of the wind blowing through so long a period in the same direction as the currents, that Constantinople is frequently inaccessible to ships coming from the Mediterranean sea, or the Archipelago. It is not therefore a commercial city. Its trade is almost wholly confined to the importation of articles necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants.

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to the deities who presided over the various departments of nature: their temples were enriched with the votive offerings of the grateful adventurer and the storm-beaten mariner, and their altars smoked with incessant sacrifices for the purpose of deprecating their anger, or soliciting their protection.

The Bosphorus, according to the ancient opinion, was the son of Neptune. "If it be not rather," says Gyllius, "the primary creation of the Supreme Architect, who opened its passage to the Euxine waters from the instant when in his eternal mind he conceived the system of the world*." Gyllius seems to have been led into this opinion from an apprehension, that to suppose the Bosphorus to be a work of subsequent formation, would be to acknowledge the agency of chance in the works of the deity. The admission, however, of secondary causes can never imply a denial of the first; and no imputation of Manicheism or materialism need be feared by those who think, that the Bosphorus, considered as an arm of the sea, is of posterior creation.

* De Bosporo Thracio, l. i, p. 23.

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The names of Pontus and Axenus indicate the wide diffusion, and secluded position of the Euxine sea in the earlier ages of the world. Its shores, in many parts, show evident proofs of having lain for ages immersed in its bosom; but naturalists have not yet determined, by actual researches, the height to which its waters had formerly risen; nor have they ascertained what vestiges of marine depositions are yet discoverable in the surrounding countries. I regret, that my knowledge was too imperfect for me to avail myself of the opportunities which my travels have afforded. I have observed, however, that the plain of Little Tartary, which is elevated considerably above the level of the sea, has for its basis a mass of calcareous matter, of so recent a composition as not yet to have assumed the hardness and compactness of stone. The deep ravins which form the only exception to the uniformity of this extensive plain, descend from a great distance in right lines towards the sea-coast without intersecting each other, as though their channels had been originally traced by torrents discharged from the lakes and great bodies of water which were separated from the sea on the sudden contraction

Ancient extent of the Euxine sea.

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of its surface, and have since been enlarged by the gradual operation of time and the elements. The borders of the Danube, even as high as Buda, exhibit strong indications, that the plains of Hungary were once the bottom of a marsh, while the water of the river was prevented from flowing off by the height of the Euxine sea. The inland parts of the Hœmus and the Carpathian mountains resemble head-lands and bays of the sea, and some modern travellers have observed vestiges of labour in the higher part of the mountains of the Crimea, the object of which appears to have been the security of shipping*. We have besides the testimony of ancient authors: Diodorus Siculus relates, that the inundation of the Propontis, when it burst through the straits of the Hellespont, ascended even to the higher part of the mountains of Samothrace: the effect of the deluge may probably be exaggerated in this instance, yet the foundation of the tradition, corroborated as it is by the physical and geographical state of the country, cannot reasonably be questioned. Future inquiries may tend to establish the hy-

* See De Tott's Memoirs, v. ii, p. 103.

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pothesis, and to determine, whether the waters gradually prepared their new passage, or whether they suddenly overwhelmed the intervening country, and afterwards subsided to their present level. If such were their progress, the traces of their violence must still be perceptible to the scrutinizing eyes of a scientific and experienced observer. The channel of the Bosphorus was perhaps prepared by the rivulets which flow from both the ranges of its hills, the streams of which were probably more copious when their sources were sunk beneath the level of the Euxine sea, and received in greater profusion the filterings of its waters. The basin of the Propontis must have been previously a lake, as it was the receptacle of the streams of the Granicus, the Esepus, the Rhyndacus, and the other rivers which descend from Ida and Olympus. The shores which surround the northern extremity of the Bosphorus are said to exhibit volcanic appearances, and demonstrations of the operation of fire *. If this be clearly ascertained, the process of Nature in the formation of these seas may in a great degree be traced.

* See Olivier's Travels, v. i, p. 77.

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The Propontis.

The lake of the Propontis, secure within the barriers of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, laid open to the wants and wishes of Constantinople an uninterrupted communication with the fertile shores of Asia Minor, and the rich commerce of its harvests and vintages. The straits of the Hellespont protected the Imperial dignity from foreign insult, and extended the Imperial sway to the Pillars of Hercules, and the remotest regions of the Mediterranean sea.

The Hellespont.

The Hellespont is longer and wider than the Bosphorus, and exhibits the bolder character of a sea in its course between the hills of Ida and the Thracian Chersonesus. Its shores, and those of the neighbouring Ægean sea, were illustrated by the achievements of the earliest heroes; and were adorned by the taste and munificence of Alexander of Macedon. They contended for superiority with Rome and Byzantium in the minds of Augustus and Constantine. The Asiatic promontories preserved the ashes and the memory of Achilles and Ajax, which were protected by the veneration of antiquity, but have not escaped the violation of modern curiosity. The mortal existence of Achilles has been denied, and the repose of his

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earthly relics has been disturbed by profane researches; but his immortality is secured in the Elysium of Homer's numbers*. The mighty shade of the hero dwelt in the vast solitude of the Euxine, and beguiled the insipidity of an immortal existence by mimicking the actions of human life, and renewing the memory of past celebrity. His mysterious abode eluded the search of an ancient circumnavigator, and its existence has even been questioned by modern geographers †. But the sacred island Leuce still remains, a frightful solitude, beaten by the currents of the Ister and the billows of the Euxine, where sea-birds ministered in the temple of the hero, while his ghost murmured out oracles ‡. A narrow slip of land at the en- The island Leuce. Cursus Achillis.

* See note B. at the end of the volume.

† See Arrian, peripl. Pont. Eux. p. 23, ap. Geogr. min. Græc. t. i, p. 21—23. Oxon. 1698. See also the dissertation of Barbié du Bocage on the travels of Anacharsis, p. 62.

‡ Strabo (geogr. l. vii) says, that the island Leuce is at the distance of 500 stadia from the mouth of the Tyras, and 600 from that of the Borysthenes. This situation nearly corresponds with that of the small rocky island which the Turkish and Greek mariners distinguish by the name of Serpents island—*Ilan adasi*, or *Phidonisi*. See also Pliny, l. iv, sec. 26, 27. Ptol. l. iii, c. 10. Mela, l. ii, c. 7. Pausanias, l. iii, c. 19.

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trance of the bay formed by the Hypanis and the Borysthenes, was appropriated to the pedestrian exercises of Achilles. Its ancient name is still preserved almost literally in the barbarous translation of Kil-bournou*. It was in the Cimmerian obscurity of this *inaccessible ocean*, that the ancients placed their gloomy Elysium†. It was in these retirements, that the *manes* of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the restorers of liberty to Athens and the objects of popular devotion, obtained the recompense of patriotism, were admitted into the society of heroes, and enjoyed the conversation of Diomedes and the swift-footed Achilles‡.

Establishments of the ancient Greeks on the northern shores of the Euxine sea.

The whole circuit of the shores of the Euxine sea was not subjected to the dominion

* *Kil-burn*, or *Kil-bournou*, signifies literally Achilles's ness; its ancient name was Dromos Achilleos, or Cursus Achillis. (See Pliny, l. iv, sec. 26. Mela, l. i, c. i.)

† This epithet is justified by the speech which the shade of Achilles addresses to Ulysses, (Odyssey xi, Cowper's translation)

"Renown'd Ulysses! think not death a theme
"Of consolation; I had rather live
"The servile hind for hire, and eat the bread
"Of some man scantily himself sustain'd,
"Than sov'reign empire hold o'er all the shades."

‡ Athenæus, lib. xv, cap. 15, p. 695.

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of Constantinople until the reign of the Ottoman emperors. The Istér, or at the furthest the Tyras, had bounded the Roman empire and the conquests of Trajan*; but the ancient Greek republics had penetrated beyond these limits, and had established cities and colonies on the banks of the Hypanis and the Borysthenes. Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, navigated the Euxine sea, and left a colony of Thessalians at Tomi, near the mouths of the Ister. He erected a tower at the entrance of the Tyras, and occupied the straits of the Borysthenes. There he constructed a cenotaph†, and founded games, in honour of his father, to whose name he consecrated the peninsula on the south, and an adjoining island. Olbia, which

* See Gibbon, v. i, p. 4, 9. See also the note in p. 84 of this volume.

† Pliny (l. iv, sec. 26) says, that this tumulus was constructed on the island which was named Insula Achillis; and indeed if there be any remains of it on the peninsula, they must be on the spot which is occupied by the fortress of Kilburn. I was in a Greek vessel, in the year 1798, which was driven by stress of weather into the *liman*, or æstuary of the Borysthenes; and I perfectly recollect, that the flat line of the coast on the left was unbroken by any other eminence. There are many tumuli (which the Russians call *kourghan*) on the side of Oczacow.

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is celebrated by Strabo for its extensive inland commerce, its caravans, its fairs, and its fisheries, was founded by the Milesians on the headland which is on the right bank of the Hypanis: its situation may be conjectured from the Greek and Roman medals which are still found among its ancient foundations*. I have seen also beautiful fragments of Grecian sculpture and statuary, which had been dragged from the bed of the river near the modern city of Nicolaef†. The cities of Niconia and Ophiusa were built on opposite sides of the æstuary which is formed by the Tyras, about fifteen miles from its mouth, near the spot where the Russians have founded the city of Ovi-

* Mention is made of the city of Olbia by Strabo (l. vii), Pliny (l. iv, sec. 26), Pomponius Mela (l. ii, c. i), Ptolemy (l. c), and, last of all, by Dion Chrysostome (Orat. Borysthen. xxxvi, p. 437, fol. Paris 1604). In the tenth century the Venetians appear to have rebuilt a city on the site of Olbia, which they called Porto di Bo, from Bogh, the Scythian, or modern, name of the river. Its ruins were employed by the Turks for the construction of the fortress of Oczacow.

† Nicolaef was founded by Prince Potemkin at the confluence of the Bogh and the Ingul. The antiquities mentioned in the text, were in the possession of Admiral Mordwinoff, who commanded on the Black Sea station in the year 1797.

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diopol, and where some modern travellers, with equal ignorance and credulity, have fixed the tomb of the exiled poet*.

* See Guthrie's Tour through the countries on the north shore of the Euxine.

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Note (B) page 405.

THE region which is situated on the Asiatic coast of the southern entrance of the Hellespont, has been generally distinguished by the name of the plain of Troy. Its topography has been learnedly described, and elegantly illustrated, by modern travellers; and on comparing their descriptions of its present state with those of the author of the Iliad, there can remain little doubt but that Homer was acquainted with the local peculiarities of this country, and that he has adapted to it the events and incidents of his poem. Other proofs, however, are requisite in order to authenticate the history of the Trojan war, and it will perhaps never emerge from the mists of mythology in which it is enveloped.

The publication of M. Chevalier's Description induced me to visit the plain of Troy in the autumn of the year 1795, before any traveller had retraced his steps, or at least had publicly questioned the accuracy of

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his relation. I returned from the excursion convinced of the correctness of M. Chevalier's general survey of the country, although I discovered, that he had been misled, in some instances, by unwarrantable interpretations of the modern languages of Turkey, or by hasty conclusions from facts which had been only vaguely communicated to him.

Mr. Liston, the English ambassador, visited the Troad a fortnight after my return to Constantinople. He perused my journal, and commended its fidelity: he even copied a part of it for the purpose of communicating it to Professor Dalzel, the translator and editor of M. Chevalier's memoir. Mr. Dallaway did me the honour to insert an extract from it in his work, under the title of a letter from the Dardanelles*, and M. Che-

* See Constantinople ancient and modern, p. 351. Mr. Dallaway himself put the extract into the form of a letter, which he has chosen to date in October 1795, so that it appears rather to correspond with the period of Mr. Liston's journey to the Troad, than with mine. I must be permitted to observe, that the assertion in the concluding paragraph of the letter, respecting M. Chevalier's ignorance of the modern Greek language, is not to be found in my journal. Professor Dalzel, however, who derived his information solely from Mr. Liston, and who could not possibly have been misled, acquits the *learned* gentleman of

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valier himself, in a subsequent publication, has acquiesced in the propriety of the correction which I therein suggested, as to the real signification of the epithet by which the Greek inhabitants of Yenni Shehr, the ancient Sigeum, distinguish the supposed tomb of Achilles*. I also take some merit to

this flippant tirade against the qualifications of his friend the abbé, and ascribes it, on Mr. Liston's authority as he seems to insinuate, to Mr. Dallaway's correspondent. (See Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. iv, part. ii, p. 59.)

* M. Chevalier says, that he was informed by a Greek inhabitant of Yenni Shehr, that the most considerable of the two hills at the foot of the Sigean promontory, is, at this day, called *dios tapé*. This remarkable name, which he translates *the divine tomb*, furnished him with a subject for various reflections, and induced him to pitch upon that barrow as the most proper subject for the operation of digging which he advised. (See Description of the plain of Troy, p. 18, 149.) I implicitly believed the assertion of M. Chevalier, and, on my arrival at Sigeum, desired the Greek, who served me as a guide, to point out to me the barrow which was distinguished by the name of *dios tepé*, or *the divine tomb*. I discovered, however, from his answer, that M. Chevalier had been so far misled, by a similarity of their sounds according to the modern Greek pronunciation, as to translate the expression *duo tepé*, the *two* barrows (by which are meant those of Achilles and Patroclus), into *dios tapé*, the divine tomb, and to apply it peculiarly to the larger one.

This note was in substance communicated to Mr. Liston, who, if Professor Dalzel be correct, adopted it as his own (see Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. iv, part. ii, p. 59), and to Mr. Dallaway, who has inserted it in p. 351 of

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myself for having induced M. Chevalier to reconsider the whole of the chapter on the tombs of Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus, which he had read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He therein asserted, that there were discovered among the relics contained in the barrow which he had conjectured to be the tomb of Achilles, and which was opened in the year 1787 by order of M. de Choiseul-Gouffier, the French ambassador at the Ottoman porte, "a small statue of Minerva, seated in a chariot with

his work, whence Mr. Morritt has taken it. (See Vindication of Homer, p. 104, note.) M. Chevalier also cursorily mentions "les tombeaux d'Achille et de Patrocle" in a work which he published, after having read Mr. Dallaway's book, under the title of Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, t. i, p. 12, note: but he drops the epithet *dios*, and names them *dhio tepé*. See also his Voyage de la Troade, t. ii, chap. xix, p. 312. Paris 1802.

The barrow on the Rhœtean promontory was anciently called Aiantéum, and this name is still recognizable in the Turkish appellation of *In-tepé*, if the word be traced in its passage through the modern Greek pronunciation. M. Chevalier asserts (p. 107), that the Turks call it *In tapé gheulu*, which he translates *the cavern of the marsh*; but *In Tepé gheulu*, (for it is to be observed, that M. Chevalier adopts the orthography *tapé*, instead of *tepé*, because of its greater similarity to the name which was used for such constructions by the Egyptians, see chap. xii) is the name of a marsh adjoining to the barrow, and signifies "the marsh of *In-tepé*."

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four horses; and an urn of metal filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones." "This urn *which*," he says, "*is now in the possession of the Comte de Choiseul*, is encircled in sculpture with a vine-branch, from which are suspended bunches of grapes done with exquisite art:" and he adds the following passage in corroboration of this assertion, which forms the groundwork of much learned commentary and curious hypothesis. "When therefore I *behold* the urn of metal adorned with vine-branches, I own I find it very difficult to prevent myself from thinking of that famous urn, the gift of Bacchus and the workmanship of Vulcan, which Thetis gave to her son, and in which the Greeks deposited the ashes of their hero*." These relics have, however, been very differently described by persons who have seen them; even the circumstance of the opening of the tumulus has been called in question†: I trust, therefore, that it will not be irrelevant

* See Description of the plain of Troy, p. 149, 150. 4to Edinburgh 1791. Compare also (or rather contrast) chap. xxi, of the English edition with chap. xix of the French edition, t. ii, p. 308—332. 12mo. Paris.

† See Morritt's Vindication of Homer, p. 106. Gell's Topography of Troy and its vicinity, p. 67.

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to the elucidation of this interesting subject to insert a fragment of the journal of my tour, as it certainly has undermined an assertion, which, otherwise, would have strongly supported *the hypothesis of Homer's fidelity as an historian.*

The companions of my journey were Mr. Mercati, an artist who accompanied Mr. Liston to Constantinople, and Mr. Barker, who has been since appointed to the consulship of Aleppo. We returned to the Dardanelles on the 18th of September 1795, after having attentively examined every object of curiosity which still exists in the Troad and the adjacent region. The English consul Taragano introduced us to a Jew, named Salomon Ghormezano, the son of the former French consul, who told us, that he had been employed by the Comte de Choiseul to open the *tepé*, or barrow, at Yenni Shehr*: In answer to our inquiries he said,

* The following extracts, which are copied *literally* from my journal, serve, in a considerable degree, to authenticate this fact. "13th September. We introduced ourselves to a Frenchman whom we met on the *scale* (or sea-beach). He talked with us on the subject of our journey to the Troad, which, he said, he had made with the Comte de Choiseul and M. Fauvel" (an artist in his service). "Choiseul waited at Bounar-bashe, while he and Fauvel traced the Simoïs to its source, and reached it,

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that he had worked at it by night for two months, and had obviated the opposition of the *aga*, and the reluctance of the people, by holding out to them the expectation of being able to discover a spring of water for the use of the town. No one superintended the work, except himself; which he described as peculiarly irksome, so that he frequently requested permission to relinquish it, but

with considerable difficulty, among the higher parts of mount Ida. He promised to make us known to the son of the former French consul, *who*, he said, *assisted at the opening of the tomb of Achilles.*"—" 15th September. Immediately on our arrival at Yenni Shehr, we took with us a Greek of the village, and went to the tomb of Achilles, descending to it by a range of wind-mills. The *tepé* is placed on the lower part of the promontory: —adjoining to it is a *téké*, or house of *dervishes*, whose women examined us with much attention. On the summit of the mound is their burying-ground, and a small hut, on the spot, *as one of the dervishes told me*, where it had been opened a few years before *by a Jew of the Dardanelles*. He knew of nothing found there, but some pieces of marble, which, he said, were put in again and covered up." It is also further confirmed by M. de Choiseul's letter to M. Chevalier, which is inserted in t. i, p. 301 of Voyage de la Troade. " Le tombeau d'Achille, à moitié ouvert, a pensé écraser les Turcs et le pauvre Salomon Gormezano, mais ils en sont quittes pour quelques contusions; et un nouvel envoi de piastres leur a rendu courage." The concluding sentence (unless it relate to the wages paid to the workmen) is somewhat at variance with Ghormezano's assertion, who complained to me, that M. de Choiseul repaid his trouble only with thanks.

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was repeatedly urged to persevere. He had penetrated, in a perpendicular direction, almost as deep as the natural surface of the soil, when he discovered a construction of masonry, about twelve feet square, covered with a single stone: the walls appeared to have been about three feet high, though they had sunk under the weight of the earth which was heaped upon them, so that the materials, and the contents, of the building were confused together. He collected indiscriminately the whole of these relics, and conveyed them away in a large case, which he guarded with the strictest care till he arrived at Constantinople, where he himself consigned it to M. de Choiseul. Ghormezano had, however, reserved several fragments for himself, which he promised to show to us. Accordingly, after a short interval, he came to the consul's house, and produced a small packet of paper parcels, which he exhibited and explained to us; and with his consent I made a note of what they severally contained.

Pieces of burnt bones.

A small fragment of bronze*.

* He said, that this fragment had originally belonged to a

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Charcoal made from vine twigs.

Cinders, and pieces of stone and mortar which appeared to have passed through fire.

A small fragment of metal*.

Fragments of pottery of a fine quality, prettily painted with flowers of a dark blue colour†.

A small piece of a transparent substance, which had been broken off, or separated,

vase. I asked him very particularly concerning the state in which he found it. He replied, that it was broken to pieces, and that it had no ornament except a wreath round the rim. The fragment was so eaten with rust or canker that, if the remainder of the vase were in the same state, few traces of ornament could have been distinguished. He said, however, that enough remained from which to form a judgment as to its original shape. When I asked him respecting the size, he said, that it was large, and accompanied his words with the action of stretching out his arms, as though to convey the idea of its being somewhat too large for his grasp. I ought also to mention, that among the packets there was one which contained several substances in powder, such as mortar, cinders, *dust of brass*, &c. mixed together.

* He called it iron, and said it appeared to have been of a triangular shape, and, as was conjectured, the guard of the hilt of a sword.

† He said, that some pieces of the pottery seemed to belong to large vases. There were also several small cups, some of which were unbroken: they were all painted in the same style as the fragments. It appeared to him as though it had been part of the funeral ceremony to drink to the memory of the deceased, and then to throw the cup into the tomb.

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from a kind of cylindrical case, or tube, closed at one end*.

He also said, that he had found among the relics of the tumulus, and delivered to M. de Choiseul, a piece of bronze, which weighed seven or eight pounds: it was about a foot and a half long, and of the circumference of a quart bottle in the middle, which was the thickest part. This, he said, was at first supposed to be the hilt of a sword, but M. de Choiseul afterwards told him, that he had found it to be the figure of a man with a lion under each foot†.

He also enumerated to us, from recollection, the different strata of earth which he dug through on opening the barrow: At the bottom of it he discovered a large slab, of

* He said, that they had not been able to form any conjecture as to its uses. I understood from his description of it, that it was about a foot long and two inches in diameter, that it was ornamented with wreaths or branches, in enchased or embossed work, and was of so transparent a nature that objects might be distinguished through it. It had received but slight injury, having only a small fracture at the upper end.

† It is difficult to suppose, that even the essential form of M. Chevalier's goddess seated in a chariot with four horses, could reside in a piece of metal of the shape which is here described. Much allowance should, however, be made for the figurative and inaccurate mode of description which is used by almost all the inhabitants of the East.

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which he did not ascertain the shape and size, but observed, that its surface was greater than that of the opening which he had made. This stone served as the foundation of the sepulchre, and was excavated in that part which was enclosed within the walls. The sepulchre itself was strewed over on the outside with lime, and then with wood-ashes*.

Mr. Liston, to whom I mentioned these circumstances, examined the relics while they were still in the possession of Ghormezano. They were seen by no other traveller, until Mr. Henry Philip Hope, who made the tour of the Troad in company with Captain Francklin, bought them in June 1799†. Six years afterwards I had an opportunity of ascertaining, from good authority, the credibility both of M. Chevalier's and Signor Ghormezano's relation. M. Fauvel was released from the confinement under which he had remained during the war be-

* Ghormezano assured me (though it appears too ridiculous to be credited), that, before the barrow was closed up, a sheet of lead was placed at the bottom, on which was inscribed "Ouvrage fait par le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier l'an 1787."

† See Captain Francklin's Remarks and observations on the plain of Troy.

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tween the Ottoman porte and the French republic. In the month of September 1801 he arrived at Constantinople from Athens. I endeavoured to be useful to him, from a respect for his private character and his reputation as a literary man and an artist, and though I failed in my application in his behalf, he was too liberal to estimate my interference only by its want of success. I had known him while his talents were employed under the direction of M. de Choiseul, and among other inquiries which such recollection suggested, I was chiefly inquisitive about the opening of the tumulus at Sigeum, the discovery of its contents, and the conjectures concerning them.

M. Fauvel confirmed to me, that Ghormezano was the person whom M. de Choiseul had employed to open the barrow, that he conducted the work alone, and that he consigned to M. de Choiseul the fruits of his discovery. Fauvel himself was absent when permission was obtained from the porte to carry on the researches in the plain of Troy. On his return to Constantinople he was, however, appointed to examine the relics which Ghormezano had discovered, and a chamber was assigned to him for the pur-

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pose in the ambassador's hotel at Pera. M. Kaüffer, an engineer-officer attached to the embassy, brought the fragments from Tarapia, a village on the Bosphorus, the country residence of the French ambassadors. They were contained in two glass vases, which were delivered to M. Fauvel, who discovered among them the statue of Isis standing on a pedestal or table, which was supported on the backs of two horses, carrying each an armed warrior. The statue was made of brass, but the left foot was fastened to the pedestal by an iron nail *. He found nothing resembling a vase or urn †. He told me, that he had shown to

* Mr. Gell learned, that "the figure of a man whose feet rested on the backs of two small horses, was discovered, and the fragments of human legs on their sides showed, that there had been originally a rider upon each, the head of the principal figure was supported by two sphinxes."—"Some have supposed, that the figure mentioned above might have been one of the handles of the golden urn; but it was so mutilated and decayed that it required *all the ingenuity of all the French in Constantinople* to make any thing intelligible from the fragment. The authenticity of these productions was, even at the time, much disputed, and some persons went so far as to affirm, that the antiquities *were manufactured at Paris.*" Topography of Troy and its vicinity, p. 67, note 8.

† Mr. Dallaway was misinformed on this subject. He says, "The urn or vase, Mr. Fauvel, an ingenious artist now residing

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several English travellers the drawing which he made of this figure. He had left the original at Athens, but sketched a copy of it for me from recollection.

at Athens, received from Mr. Choiseul in its decayed state, and made a model from it, which has been exhibited to several connoisseurs, as much to their surprise as satisfaction." Constantinople ancient and modern, p. 353.

I had written this note before I observed the following passage in M. de Choiseul's letter to M. Chevalier. "L'urne d'Achille, ses os, ses cendres, tout cela est trouvé: au premier vent du sud, Salomon arrivera avec ces précieuses reliques." M. Chevalier has even exhibited, for the satisfaction of the curious and the credulous, a representation of *two urns*—"vases cinéraires, trouvés dans le tombeau d'Achille." See Voyage de la Troade, plate xxiii.

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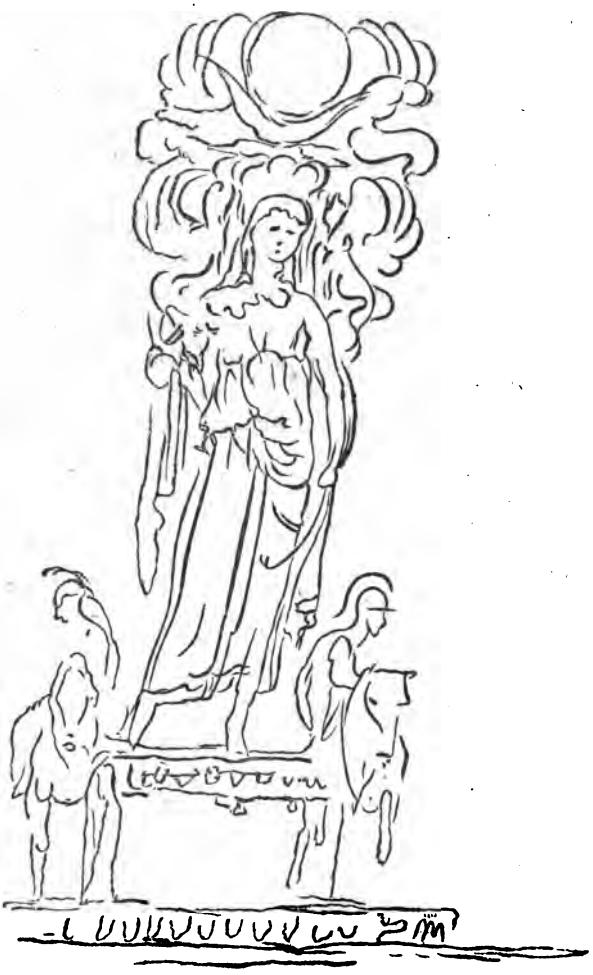

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Isis is represented differently from the usual manner. She is treading lightly on the ground, which she appears scarcely to touch with her right foot. She holds up her robe with her left hand, and carries the flower of the lotus in the right. On each shoulder she supports a sphinx; and among the ornaments of her head are the cow-horns with the globe, and a sphinx on each side of them. In her dress, her attitude, and her general manner, she seems designed for the goddess Hope: and indeed Hope cannot be better represented than under the form of an Egyptian goddess, lightly skimming over the slimy deposition of the Nile after its inundation, and looking forward with confidence to an abundant harvest.

Unfortunately, however, from the consideration of the relics themselves, as well as from the circumstances of their discovery, their authenticity is by no means unquestionable. Isis with flowing robes, is not to be found among the ancient Egyptian statues. The sphinxes placed on her shoulders, with others again placed above them, form a singular kind of ornament. The iron nail, as M. Fauvel justly observed, proves, that the statue does not date from very high an-

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tiquity, and the armed warriors certainly do not belong to the age of Homer, whose heroes, in no instance, go out to war on horseback.

It is much to be regretted, that M. de Choiseul should have acted with so little judgment, and so much precipitation, in a research, which, if it had been properly conducted, might have illustrated a very important period of ancient history. He confided to an ignorant Jew the superintendance and execution of a task, which required extensive erudition and an intimate acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity. He forced an ungrateful labour upon an unwilling agent, who was moreover compelled, on account of the prejudices of the people of the country, to prosecute it by night and under peculiar disadvantages. And yet every thing rests on the evidence of this incompetent, and suspicious witness. Certainly M. de Choiseul could never expect, by such a mode of proceeding, to gain the confidence of learned and judicious men; still less could he hope to merit the approbation of the world.

"To my own inquiries," says Mr. Gell, "I have never procured any satisfactory ac-

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count of these relics, *even from those who were concerned in the production of them to the world;* and when I have requested information from French gentlemen of character, *who knew the truth*, I have always found them impenetrably silent*." It was probably at Paris, that Mr. Gell made his inquiries; for no person remained who could have answered them when he was at Constantinople in January 1802. Kauffer had died some time before. Fauvel was then in France, but he soon after returned to Athens, with the appointment of Consul-General. Choiseul himself was, I believe, at that time living at Saint Petersburg, where he fled to avoid the proscription of the National Convention. These were the only French gentlemen of character who were concerned in the production of the relics to the world. It is evident, that Chevalier was kept in perfect ignorance: and I am afraid, that, after all, the Jew at the Dardanelles is the only person who knew the truth.

Nothing now remains for the satisfaction of the curiosity which has been excited on this subject, but that M. de Choiseul should

* Topography of Troy and its vicinity, p. 67, note 8.

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communicate whatever he may know relating to the fact of the discovery of the relics, and exhibit whatever he may have preserved of the fragments which he received from Ghormezano: by these means, and by comparing the fragments with the specimens which are in the possession of Mr. H. P. Hope, with which if they be genuine they must correspond, a glimpse of the truth may at last be discovered. Ghormezano was living when I passed the Dardanelles in the year 1803. He can now have no motive to conceal, or to disguise, the truth; and he might be induced by moderate liberality to answer candidly to questions, which would unveil the mystery.

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